# THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR

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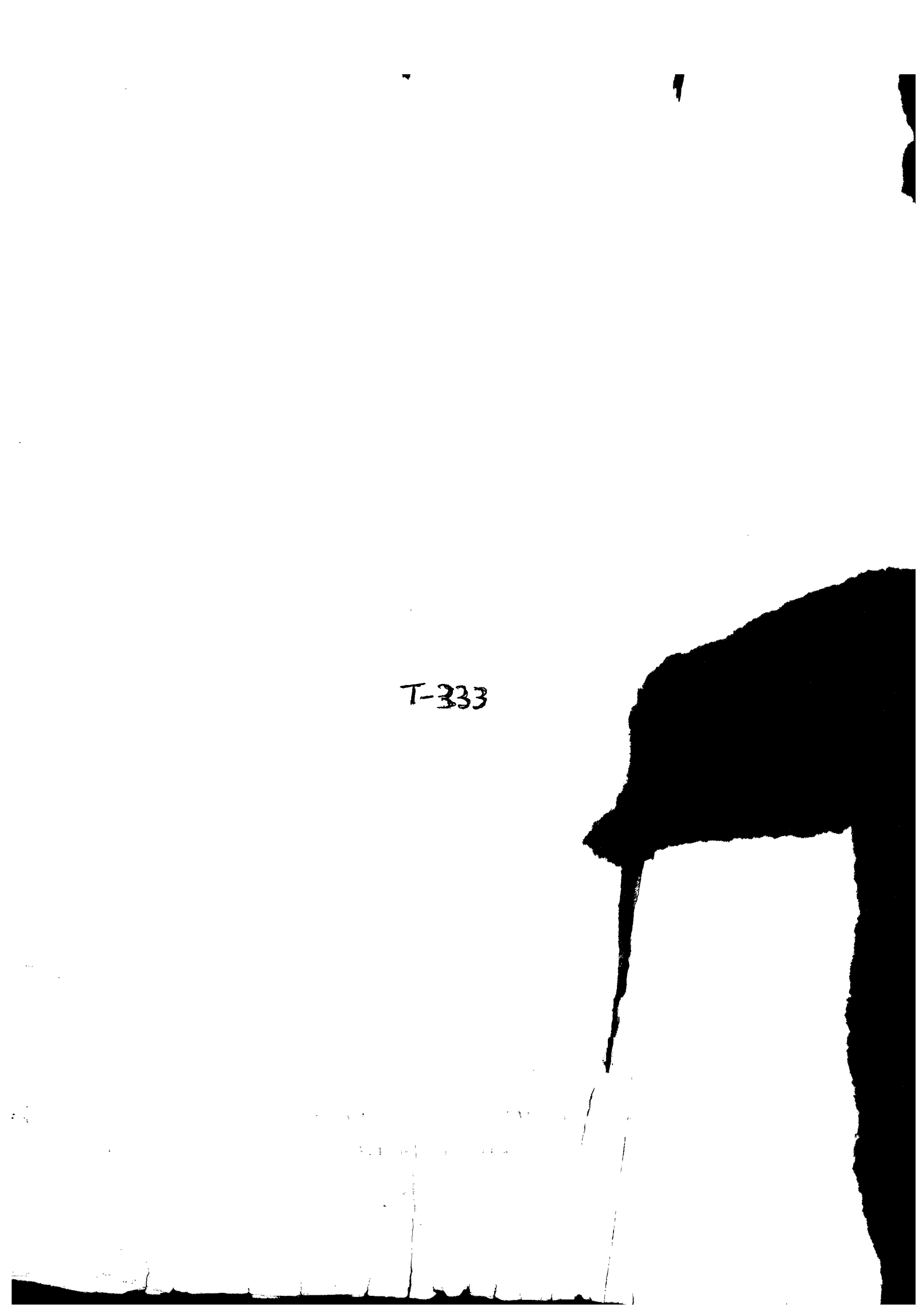

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# PREFACE

During the thirties of the present century were prepared a number of dynastic and regional histories of India. With the appearance of valuable publications on the dynasties of the early mediaeval age e.g. the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Paramāras and some other Rājput communities of North and Central India, a clearing ground was prepared for future work. Since then several research monographs have appeared shedding welcome light on the early medieval history of the country.

From their rise to the decline, the Kalachuris played a significant role in the history of India. Their contributions in the realms of political history and administration, art and architecture, are significant indeed. But scholars have generally paid their attention to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī, while the sister branch of the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kosala is but vaguely remembered.

That the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kosala, popularly known as the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, played a glorious part in the field of contemporary politics, was for the first time emphasized by Shri A.Ghosh, in his learned paper '<u>History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala</u>' published in the D.R.Bhandarkar Volume (1940). Prior to this, Dr.H.C.Ray had discussed the political history of this branch, though in a sketchy form. Thus the political history of the dynasty has already received an adequate treatment, but its contribution in the fields of Culture and Archaeology was

practically untouched till now. Recently Prof. V.V.Mirashi's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume IV entitled 'Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era' also appeared and it was felt that the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur required a systematic fresh treatment. At the instance of revered Dr.R.P.Tripathi, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Saugar, Prof. V.V.Mirashi and Dr.M.G.Dikshit, the present scholar was allowed to work on this topic.

The present work entitled, ' The Kalachuris of Ratanpur' consists of 11 Chapters and 5 Appendices. The first chapter is devoted to the geography, physical and historical, of the Southern Kosala(Chhattisgarh area), where the dynasty ruled. The next chapter deals with the origin and pedigree of the Kalachuri dynasty and in this chapter, probably for the first time, the Purānic,archaeological and epigraphic data have been discussed in a comprehensive manner. Chapters III - V are assigned to the political history of the dynasty begining from the 10th century A.D. to the middle of the 18th century A.D. Chapter VI deals with the administrative system of the Kalachuri empire of Dakshiṇa Kosala. In this chapter the inscriptional data have been interpreted on the basis of information supplied by the contemporary dynasties and the authoritative works on Indian polity. In Chapters VII, VIII and IX, an attempt has been made to study the religious, social, economic and cultural conditions in Chhattisgarh under the sway of the dynasty.

The basis of study of all these chapters is the epigraphic and the literary material of the age. Chapters X and XI,discussing the art and architecture of that area, were prepared after an archaeological survey undertaken by the present writer in the Districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Raigarh, in the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The results of this survey have been illustrated with maps, plans and nearly one hundred photographs, prepared by the author excepting a few photographs kindly given by the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The epigraphs have similarly been studied and verified from the originals wherever necessary.

Before I conclude, I must express my deep debt of gratitude to my revered guru, Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., formerly Professor of History and Political Science, Allahabad University, at whose feet I took the valuable lessons of historical studies and research. The venerable ācharya not only reposed his utmost confidence in me but in fact showed me the path during these dark years of my mundane existence. I am equally grateful to revered Dr.R.P.Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc.,(London), LL.D.(Melborne), the former Professor of History, University of Allahabad and the Ex- Vice-Chancellor of the University of Saugar, who inspite of his various preoccupations most graciously revealed to me for hours the mysteries of human history in the context of the cultural progress of the race. My gratefulness is also due to Shri A.Ghosh, Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director of Anthropological Survey of India, Mahāpaṇḍita

Rahul Sankrityayan, Prof. V.V.Mirashi, Nagpur University, Dr.Vasudevasaran Agrawal, Banaras Hindu University, Dr. Govind Chandra Pande, Gorakhpur University, Prof. G.R.Sharma, Allahabad University, Prof. S.M.Ali, University of Saugar and other doyens of this branch of study for their valuable advice and suggestions. I express my profound obligation to Prof. R.K.Dikshit, Lucknow University, for his valuable instructions given from time to time at the different stages of the preparation of this dissertation.

In the last, my indebtedness and gratefulness are difficult to be expressed in words to my painstaking supervisors, Dr.M.G.Dikshit, now Reader in the Department of Ancient History and Culture, Nagpur University, and Prof. K.D.Bajpai, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, University of Saugar, for their guidance, help and encouragement. I recall with deep reverence the happy memories of the late Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya Śarma, who very kindly placed all his material at my disposal, my only regret being that he is no more to bless me for this humble work of mine. Besides the help of Pandit L.P.Pandeya Śarma, I must acknowledge the help of a number of other gentlemen of Chhattisgarh particularly Sarvashri Pyarelal Gupta, Bilaspur, Lal Tamradhwaj Singh, Ex-Malguzar, Tumān, Hans Raj Taneja, Malaria Inspector, Pali, Shyam Sunder Patel, Ṭeram, Devi Prasad Varma, Jānjgir, Ram Chandra Trivedi, Bhogahā, Śeorinārāyan, Kaushal Prasad Tiwari, Manager Mahantji, Nārāyanpur, Sunder Lal Agarwal, Kharod, Bhuwan Bhaskar Singh, Akaltarā,

Amrit Lal Tiwari, Patel, Gataurā, Mul Chandra Sharma, Pendrā, and Khushal Chandra Marwari, Dhanpur, for their unfailing hospitality and excellent arrangements during my Survey work.

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## Transliteration Table

अ - a
आ - ā
इ - i
ई - ī
उ - u
ऊ - ū
ऋ - ṛi
ए - e
ऐ - ai
ओ - o
औ - au
-
अनुस्वार - ṁ
विसर्ग - ḥ
क् - k
ख् - kh
ग् - g
घ् - gh
ङ् - ṅ
च् - ch
छ् - chh
ज् - j
झ् - jh
ञ् - ñ
ट् - ṭ
ठ् - ṭh
ड् - ḍ
ढ् - ḍh
ण् - ṇ
त् - t
थ् - th
द् - d
ध् - dh
न् - n
प् - p
फ् - ph
ब् - b
भ् - bh
म् - m
य् - y
र् -r
ल् - l
व् - v
श् - ś
ष् - sh
स् - s
ह् - h
क्ष् - ksh
ज्ञ् - jñ

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.- Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Ag. - Agni Purāṇa.

A.I.H.T. - Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.

A.S.I.R. - Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

Bd. - Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

Bhag. - Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Br. - Brahma Purāṇa.

C.I.I. - Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Digha. - Dīgha Nikāya.

D.H.N.I. - Dynastic History of Northern India.

DRBV. - D.R.Bhandarkar Volume.

E.I. - Epigraphia Indica.

Ep. Carn. - Epigraphia Carnatica.

Gr. - Garuḍa Purāṇa.

H.G.A.I. - Historical Geography of Ancient India.

HTTM. - The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments.

HV. - Harivaṁśa Purāṇa.

I.A. - Indian Antiquary.

I.H.Q. - Indian Historical Quarterly.

J.A.H.R.S.- Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society.

J.A.S.B. - Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.B.B.R.A.S. - Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.B.O.R.S.- Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J.K.H.R.S. - Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society.

J.M.P.I.P. - Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad.

J.N.S.I. - Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

J.O.H.R.S. - Journal of the Orissa Historical Research Society.

J.R.A.S. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.U.P.H.S. - Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.

Kur. - Kūrma Purāṇa.

Lg. - Liṅga Purāṇa.

Mark. - Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

Mbh. - Mahābhārata.

Mat. - Matsya Purāṇa.

M.A.S.I. - Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

M.H.S. Papers-Mahākosala Historical Society's Papers.

Pad. - Padma Purāṇa.

P.H.A.I. - Political History of Ancient India.

P.I.H.C. - Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

PRAS.,WC., - Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

Pv. - Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya.

Siv. - Śiva Purāṇa.

S.I.I. - South Indian Inscriptions.

T.A.I. - Tribes in Ancient India.

Va. - Vāyu Purāṇa.

Vis. - Vishnu Purāṇa.

# CHAPTER I

## GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

Physiographically Chhattisgarh or the ancient Southern Kosala is a part of Indian Peninsula occupying the Central South-eastern portion in the Deccan tableland. For long ages this region has been exposed to denudation, which has ultimately been reduced by peneplanation. In general, Chhattisgarh is a flat undulating basin with relics of mountains and hill ranges allround.

Excluding the Baster District, which forms a separate physical unit by itself, Chhattisgarh can be divided into four geographical regions:

(i) The Chhattisgarh Plain;

(ii) The Northern hilly region of Bilaspur, Raigarh and Surguja Districts;

(iii) The Eastern hills and Plateau of Gaurāgarh; and

(iv) The Southern hilly tract of Sihāwā.

The great plain of the Upper Mahānadī lies between the Maikal and Orissa Hills.[1] On the North-west, it is limited by the Maikal Scarps and on the South it rises into the hills of Telinghat in North Baster.

The heart of the plain is occupied by a great basin of Cuddapah rocks(grits,quartzites,Sandstones and Shales) resting on the archaeans which form the irregular margins, and bevelled off in perfect peneplains at about 900-1000 feet. This rock-system extends over large portion of the Durg, Raipur, Bilaspur and Raigarh districts in Madhya Pradesh as well as marginal portion of the district of Sambalpur in Orissa. [2]

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1. Spate: India and Pakistan, p.665

2. Pascoe: A Manual of the Geology of India and Burma, Vol. I pp.374 ff.

This plain is girdled by more or less broken forest country.[1]* The surface is highly dissected and undulating and is traversed in all directions by the Mahānadī and its tributaries. The gradient of the plain is towards north and east. The highest point in the plain is 2649 feet above sea level in the north-east of Nargorā.

The northern hilly region of Bilaspur, Raigarh and Surguja districts is highly rugged. The Maikal range runs from north-east to South-west along the border, from the peak of Amarkaṇṭak to the Sāleṭekri hills of Balaghat. On the eastern border, the Sakti hills lead almost down to the Mahānadī, thus the semi-circular chain surrounds the whole upper-part of Chhattisgarh.[2] This is the remnant of the eastward extension of Satpura ranges which forms the Chhota Nagpur Plateau to the further east. These hills serve as watersheds between the rivers flowing to north in the Son and to south in the Mahānadī. Mainpāt and Jamirapāt are the important ranges in Surguja District which extend South-west to north-east.[3] The average height is about 3000 feet above sea-level.

The eastern hills are mainly confined to South and east of Mahānadī in Raipur District. In the north-east a dissected country of low ranges rises at short intervals from the Southern bank of Mahānadī and extends towards

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1. Spate: India and Pakistan, pp 667 ff.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, 1910, Allahabad, p.2
3. Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer, 1909, Bombay, p.226.

Raigarh and Surguja districts, where the eastern extension of Satpura ranges meets it. Towards South in the Bindrā-Nawāgarh part of Raipur District, it rises into small plateau known as Gaurāgarh Plateau. This plateau varying from 2000 to 3000 feet, in height is the source of Udet and Sondhal rivers.[1]

Lastly the Southern hilly tract of Sihāwā includes a large belt of hilly country to the east and south. The western part of Bindrā-Nawāgarh again rises in Sihāwā range, which extends from near Mahasamund through Dhamtari tahsil into Kānker in the east-west direction. This range is known as Telinghāt which forms the northern escarpment of the plateau of Bastar. This provides a water-divide between the affluents of the Mahānadī and those of the Godāvarī. The average height of this tract is from 2000 to 2500 feet. The highest point Devdongarī is above 3000 feet.

Nearly the whole of Chhattisgarh is drained by the Mahānadī system,which flows through the heart of the plain. The important tributaries of the Mahānadī are Seonāth,Khārun, Hasdo,Mānd, Rehar,Pairi and Jonk. The average rainfall of this area is 50 to 60 inches per year and this combined with suitable temperature condition and soils has turned Chhattisgarh into a surplus rice-producing area. [2]

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1. Raipur District Gazetteer, 1909, Bombay, p.7.
2. C.P.Gazetteer, 1908, Calcutta, p.3.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY : Mountains and Rivers

Our ancient thinkers refer to a group of regional mountains as the ' Kula-Parvatas ' or ' Kulāchalas .' Those of Bhārata as mentioned in ancient literature, particularly the Epics and the Purāṇas, are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛiksha, Vindhya and Pāriyātra. [1] Out of these seven mountains Vindhya, Śuktimat and Ṛiksha bound Dakshiṇāpatha and separate the peninsula from the Northern Plains. They have been identified by various scholars as follows:

The Vindhya corresponds to Ptolemy's Quindon, the source of the Namados(Narmadā) and Nanagouna( Tāptī). By Quindon, Ptolemy meant only that portion of the Vindhya where from rise the Narmadā and the Tāptī. [2] There are others who think that the Vindhya denotes the chain lying to the south of the Narmadā.[3]

The Ṛiksha mountain corresponds with the Ouxenton of Ptolemy. It is the source of the river Daśārṇa(Modern Dhasān). Ptolemy thought it to be the Central region of

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1. महेन्द्रो मलय: सह्य: शुक्तिमानृक्षवानपि ।
   विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वता: ।।
   -Mbh.,Bhīshmaparvan, Chapter 9,Śloka 11; Mārk., Chapter 57,10.

2. Law, Bimal Churn: Historical Geography of Ancient India, Introduction, p.20.

3. Sircar, D.C. : Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p.49.

the modern Vindhyan range north of the Narmadā. [1] The Purāṇic texts further suggest that the Ṛikshavat was that part of the Vindhyan range which lies to the north of the Narmadā and runs from the Malwa region right upto the sources of the Narmadā, the Śoṇa and the Mahānadī. [2]

Lastly the Śuktimat range, according to Beglar, lies to the north of the Hazaribagh district. [3] There is difference of opinion as to its location. Cunningham identifies it with the hills south of Sihāwā and Kāṅker separating Chhattisgarh from Bastar. [4] According to Pargiter, it is to be identified with Garo, Khasi and Tippera hills. [5] C.V.Vaidya locates it in Western India and identifies it with Kathiawad range. [6] Raychaudhuri applies the term to the chain of hills, extending from Sakti in Raigarh District to the Dalma hills in Mānbhūm drained by the Kumārī river, and perhaps even to the hills in the Santhal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā. [7]

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1. Law, B.C.: Historical Geography of Ancient India, Introduction, p.20.
2. Vā., 45,99-101; Mārk.,57,21-23.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol. VIII, pp.124-125.
4. Ibid., Vol.XVII, pp, 24,26.
5. Mārkandeya Purāṇa, pp. 285,306 notes, quoted by B.C.Law in Historical Geography of Ancient India, Introduction, p.21.
6. Vaidya, C.V. : Epic India, p.276.
7. Raychaudhuri, H.C. : Studies in Indian Antiquities, p.108.

The scholars in this way interpret the Purāṇic data in somewhat confused way. Recently Prof. S.M.Ali has tried to determine the relative position of these three mountains on the basis of geographical description given in the Purāṇas. The Ṛiksha and the Vindhya mountains, in his opinion, run parallel to each other-north and south of the Narmadā- respectively and bound Dakshiṇa Kosala from North and north-west. Similarly Śuktimat mountain forms a semi-circular chain surrounding the Chhattisgarh plain on north-west and southern directions.[1]

The Rivers flowing through the plain of Chhattisgarh similarly rise from these three mountains discussed above. The Purāṇas in fact vaguely enumerate the rivers in as far they describe the Śoṇa, Mahānadī, Narmadā and all others rising in the Ṛiksha.[2] As regards the position of the Narmadā and the Śoṇa, both these rivers rise in the Amarakaṇṭaka range of the Vindhya. The Ṛikshavat, as the source of the Narmadā, the Śoṇa and the Mahānadī groups of rivers according to the Purāṇas is apparently a wrong notion. The Mahānadī and all its tributaries rise in the Śuktimat range. 3

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1. Information kindly given by Prof. S.M.Ali from his 'The Geography of the Purāṇas' to be published shortly.

2. शोणो महानदी चैव नर्मदा सुरसा किया ।
मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च चित्रकूटा तथैव च ।।
तमसा पिप्पल श्रोणी करमोदा पिशाचिका ।
चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च मज्जुला बालुवाहिनी ।।
शुनी लज्जा शुक्तिमती शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमु: ।
कृपापादात् प्रसूतास्ता नथो मणिनिभोदका ।।
- Vā. 45, 99-101; Mārk. 57,21-23

3. कृपि तुल्या कुमारी च मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ।
कृपा पलाशिनी चैव शुक्तिमत्प्रभवा: स्मृता: ।।
- Mārk. 57,29. Vāyu Version(45,107) Slightly differs.

Prof. Ali on the other hand feels that the Purāṇic description of rivers is geographically sound. He reconciles the above discrepancies by suggesting that the Ṛikshavat, the Vindhya and the Śuktimat mountains meet in the Maikal Knot. He further identifies the rivers as follows:

(i) Mandavāhinī is the river Mahānadī, which rises from the Śuktimat near Sihāwā in the extreme south-east of the Raipur District. It flows in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and with a total course of about 550 miles finally falls into the Bay of Bengal.[1] The Purāṇas also call it the Mahānadī and it becomes known as the Chitrôtpalā[2] below its junction with the Pairi at Rājim in the Raipur District.

(ii) Ṛishikulyā and Trisāmā both rise from the Mahendra mountain lying in the south-east of Chhattisgarh. At another place the Ṛishikulyā is said to have risen from the Śuktimat and position of this river in the south-east of Chhattisgarh, therefore, fulfils both the conditions. Dr. Raychaudhuri also supports this identification.[3] Dr. D.C. Sircar, however, identifies the Ṛishikulyā with the Koel in Chhota Nagpur.[4]

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1. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.307; also map facing page 1.
2. Sircar, D.C.: Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p.48
3. Raychaudhuri, H.C.: Studies in Indian Antiquities, p.98
4. Sircar, D.C.: Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p.54

(iii) Mandagā is the river Mānd, which rises in the former Jashpur State of the Raigarh District and flowing into the same district joins the Mahānadī.[1]

(iv) Kṛipā[2] is the river Arpā, which rises beyond the range north of Kenda in the Bilaspur District and joins the Seonāth near Karrā in the same district.[3]

(v) Palāśinī or Paśāsinī is the Jonk river, which rises in the Khariār Zamindari in Raipur district and falls into the Mahānadī near Seorīnārāyan.[4]

(vi) Śūnī is the river Seonāth, which is an important and the largest tributary of the Mahānadī. It total length is about 220 miles. The river rises in the hills of Pānabāras Zamindāri of Durg District and forming the boundary between Durg, Raipur and Bilaspur Districts, finally joins the Mahānadī at Devīghāt near Seorīnārāyan.[5]

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1. Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer, 1909, Bombay, p.343; and also Map Facing p.167.

2. Vāyu (45,107) reads it as 'Kūpā'.

3. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, 1910 Allahabad, p.256; and also map facing p.1.

4. Raipur District Gazetteer, 1909, Bombay, p.293; and also Map facing p.1.
   Raychaudhuri, (op.cit., p.106) identifies the Kūpā with the modern Kôpā, a tributary of the Bāblā, in Eastern India and the Palāśinī with the modern Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chhota Nagpur. But these rivers in case they are connected with the Mahānadī river system must be located somewhere in the Chhattisgarh Plain.

5. Durg District Gazetteer, 1910, Calcutta, pp.201-202; also map published in Raipur District Gazetteer, facing p.1.

Among the remaining rivers, Dr. D.C.Sircar has identified the Śakulī ( Śakrulī ?) with the Sakrī river, which flows into the Seonāth.[1] The Sakri is, however, a tributary of the Hānp, and the latter finally joins the Seonāth in the Durg District.[2]

THE JANAPADA OF DAKSHIṆA KOSALA:

The land roughly comprising the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur in Orissa was known as Kosala or Dakshiṇa Kosala [3] evidently to distinguish it from the northern Kosala, the latter flourishing on the river Sarayū. [4]

The earliest mention of Kosala, other than Uttara Kosala, is found in the epics and the Purāṇas. It has been suggested that upto about the 3rd century B.C., Mahākosala or Dakshiṇa Kosala had not assumed its separate entity and the country was designated by the term Vidarbha which might have comprised a much bigger area than the present Berar. [5] Mr. Nundo Lal Dey is,however, inclined

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1. Sircar, D.C.: Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p.48.

2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, 1910, Allahabad,p.5.

3. Raychaudhuri, H.C.: Political History of Ancient India, p.538.

4. कोशलो नाम मुदित: स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।
निविष्ट: सरयूतीरे प्रभूत धनधान्यवान् ।।
-Rāmāyaṇa,Bālakāṇḍa,Sarga 5, Śloka 5.

5. Bajpai, K.D.:'Mahākosala in Ancient Literature' Paper published in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I,1946, pp.203-204.

to identify Kosala or Dakshiṇa Kosala with Tosali of the Dhauli edict[1] of Aśoka or Tosala of the Greek Geographer Ptolemy.[2] But the Purāṇas,[3] as we shall see, refer to the Tosalas and the Kosalas as two different peoples. The proposed identification, therefore, should not be pursued too vigorously.

Coming to the epics, the Rāmāyaṇa refers to atleast two more Kosala countries other than Uttara Kosala. One of them included the territory over which King Bhānumat ruled.[4] The third Kosala or Kāśi-Kosala probably lay in the South-eastern part of the country.[5] At another place, the Kāśi-Kosalas are mentioned among the peoples of eastern direction.[6] Probably Kauśalyā was the daughter of the ruler of this last mentioned Kosala as the tradition has been recorded by Kālidāsa.[7]

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1. C.I.I., Vol. I, p.92.

2. Dey, Nundo Lal: The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p.206.

3. Vā. 45,132-134; Mārk. 57,53-55.

4. तथा कोसल राजानं मानुमन्तं सुसत्कृतम् ।
मगधाधिपतिं शूरं सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ।।

-Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 13, Śloka 26.

5. द्राविडाः सिन्धुसौवीराः सौराष्ट्रादक्षिणापथाः ।
वङ्गाङ्गमगधामत्स्याः समृद्धाः काशि-कोसलाः ।।

-Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Sarga 10, Śloka 37.

6. अधिगच्छ दिशंपूर्वं सशैलवनकाननम् ।
महीकाल महीं चापि शैल - कानन शोभिताम् ।
ब्रह्ममालान्विदेहांश्च मालवान् काशि-कोसलान् ।।

-Rāmāyaṇa, Kishkindhākāṇḍa, Sarga 40, Śloka 22.

7. तमलभन्त पतिं पतिदेवताः । शिखरिणामिव सागरमापगाः ।।
मगध-कोशल-कैकय शासिनां । दुहितरोऽहितरोपित मार्गणम् ।।

-Raghuvaṁśa, Canto IX, Śloka 17.

The Mahābhārata similarly refers to different Kosala Kingdoms on various occasions. In the Sabhāparvan, we find the mention of one Kosala, which is described as ' Pūrva-Kosala.'[1] In the Āśvamedhikaparvan, the Kosalas are mentioned along with the Vaṅgas and the Puṇḍras residing near the sea-coast.[2] Obviously both refer to one and the same Kosala Kingdom lying in the east. The boundary particularly the eastern limit of this Kosala country went upto the eastern sea-coast, is further proved by the inscriptional data of the early mediaeval times. The Bilhāri inscription of the Kalachuris of Tripurī States about Prasiddhadhavala Mugdhatuṅga that ' he conquered the lines of countries along with eastern sea-shore and wrested the country of Pālī from the lord of Kosala.' 3 That the Kosala country lay near Kaliṅga is also known from the Aihole-inscription of Pulakeśin II, whose supremacy was acknowledged by the Kings of Kosala and Kaliṅga. [4]

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1. स विजित्य दुराधर्षं भीष्मकं माद्रिनन्दनः ।
कोसलाधिपतिं चैव तथा वेणातटाधिपम् ।।
कान्तारकांश्च समरे तथा प्राक्कोसलान् नृपान् ।
नाटकेयांश्च समरे तथा हैरण्वकान् युधि ।।
- Mbh., Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, Ślokas 12-13.

2. `ततः समुद्रतीरेण वङान् पुण्ड्रान् स कोसलान् ।`
-Mbh., Āśvamedhikaparvan, Adhyāya 82, Śloka 29.

3. ` विजित्य पूर्वाम्बुधिकूलपाली:
पालीस्समादाय च कोसलेन्द्रात् ।`
-E.I., Vol.I, p.256.

4. E.I., Vol.VI, p.6.

Besides Epics, the Purāṇas include the Janapada of the Kosalas in the list of the inhabitants of the Vindhyas that is the Mālavas, Karūshas, Mekalas, Utkalas, Uttamārṇas, Daśārṇas, Bhojas, Kishkindhakas, Tosalas, Kosalas, Traipuras, Vaidikas, Tumuras, Tumburas, Shaṭsuras, Nishadhas, Anūpas, Tuṇḍikeras, Vītihôtras and Avantis. [1] The Purāṇas locate the Kosala-Janapada in the south and mention it with the Mālava and Mekala countries. Epigraphic evidence also corroborates the above Purāṇic statement. The Balaghat plates of the Vākāṭaka ruler Pṛithvīsheṇa II belonging to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. State that the commands of his father Narendrasena were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava.[2]

In fact, both the statements of the Epics and that of the Purāṇas refer to one and the same Kosala country, which extended from Amarakaṇṭaka in the North-west to the western boundary of the Utkala Janapada.

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1. मालवा करूषाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ।
उत्तमाणां दशार्णाश्च भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह ॥
तोसलाः कोसलाश्चैव त्रपुरा वैदिकास्तथा ।
तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव षट्सुरा निषधैः सह ॥
अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च वीतिहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः ।
एते जनपदाः सर्वे विन्ध्य पृष्ठनिवासिनः ॥
- Vā., 45,132-134; Mārk., 57,53-55.

2. E.I., Vol.IX, p.271.

This position has also been accepted by Varāhamihira, the author of Bṛihatsaṁhitā, who places the Kosala Janapada in the South-eastern part of the country.[1] Rājaśekhara, on the otherhand, as late as tenth century A.D., includes the Kosala-Janapada among the Janapadas of ' Pūrvadesa ', such as Kaliṅga, Tosala, Utkala and Magadha etc. [2] The obvious conclusion from the above discussion is that the Dakshiṇa Kosala Janapada continued to be regarded as a territorial unit of South-eastern India evidently because this unit occupied a position in the transitional Vindhyan Zone between the East and the South, with respect to the northern lands.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY:

The epics and the Purāṇas are of little help in determining the size of this Janapada. The Allahabad Pillar-inscription contains a reference to Kosala among the States of Dakshiṇāpatha. It was ruled over by a prince named Mahendra, who was a contemporary of Gupta monarch Samudragupta in the

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1. आग्नेयादिशिकोसलकलिङ वङोपवङजठराङाः ।
शौलिक विदर्भ वत्सान्ध्र चैदिकाश्चोर्ध्व कण्ठाश्च ।।

- Bṛihatsaṁhitā, XIV,8.

2. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Chapter XVII,p.226.

4th century A.D. [1] We have no information regarding the dynasty to which Mahendra belonged and also the extent of his territory. However, the next ruler mentioned in the inscription referred above, is Vyāghrarāja, who ruled over Mahākāntāra. It can be inferred that the Kosala Kingdom of Mahendra excluded the hilly tracts of Bastar and Sihāwā in the Raipur District. [2]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, for the first time, gives an exact location and boundary of the Kosala Kingdom. Yuan Chwang visited Southern Kosala in 639 A.D. From Kaliṅga, the traveller went north-west through hills and forests and after covering a distance of nearly 350 miles reached Kosala. [3]

The Kingdom of Southern Kosala according to Yuan Chwang extended nearly 1000 miles in circuit. [4] This statement has led several scholars to determine the boundaries of Dakshiṇa Kosala. Cunningham suggested that the boundaries of Dakshiṇa Kosala or Mahākosala, as he called it, comprised the whole of the Upper Mahānadī Basin extending from the source of the Narmadā

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1. C.I.I., Vol.III, P.7.
2. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.38.
3. Watters: On Yuan Chwang's, Vol. II, p.200.
4. Ibid., P.200

at Amarakaṇṭaka in the north to the source of Mahānadī proper near Kāṅker in the south, in the west to the eastern rim of the Wen-Gaṅgā Basin and in the east to the axis of the Hasdo and Jonk rivers. [1] He further added that these limits have often been extended so as to include the hilly districts of Mandalā and Bālāghāṭ on the west upto the banks of Wen-Gaṅgā, and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the east down to Sambalpur and Sonepur. [2] The greatest extent of Dakshiṇa Kosala in the opinion of Cunningham was 200 miles on each side and it must be bounded by Ujjain on the north, by Mahārāshṭra on the west, by Orissa on the east, and by Āndhra and Kaliṅga on the south.[3] In the opinion of Prof. R.D.Banerji, the boundary of Dakshiṇa Kosala in the mediaeval ages extended on the east as far as Khiñjali and the area was subject to the Somavaṁśīs and the Haihayas of Tripurī and Ratnapura. [4]

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.68.
2. Ibid., p.68.
3. Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India, p.603.
4. Banerji, R.D.: History of Orissa, Vol. I,p.7.

Dr. Hiralal, while discussing this problem, fixed the limits of Dakshiṇa Kosala as extending to the west upto the borders of Berar and to the east absorbing in it the districts of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur in which Somavaṁśī records have been found.[1]

The views of Cunningham, Banerji and Hiralal, although increasing our knowledge on the subject considerably, suffer from inaccuracy in as far the demarcation of this Janapada is concerned. Cunningham, ofcourse, correctly determines the northern, western and southern limits of Dakshiṇa Kosala. But he abruptly ends the eastern limit upto the Hasdo and Jonk rivers. Prof. Banerji similarly gives a vague idea of the limits of Khiñjali and he makes a casual reference to Dakshiṇa Kosala, with which he was not directly concerned. The suggestion of Dr.Hiralal, however, removes the discrepancy of Cunningham's view by including the districts of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur in the area of Dakshiṇa Kosala, as the records of the Somavaṁśī rulers, who also style themselves as the lords of Kosala, are available from this part. But Dr.Hiralal is too much inclined to believe that Bhāndak in Chanda district or Berar region was the capital of Dakshiṇa Kosala, which was visited by the Chinese traveller in 639 A.D.2 In the light of recent excavations at Sirpur,

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1. I.A., Vol. LXII(1933), p.162.

2. Hiralal: Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, 2nd Edition,1932, Nagpur, p.14.

we can safely assume that Yuan Chwang came to Śrīpura, the capital town of Dakshiṇa Kosala, identified with the site of modern Sirpur situated on the right bank of Mahānadī river in Raipur district.[1] The boundary of this Janapada, therefore, extended towards east and not in the west upto Berar, as suggested by Hiralal.

The Central part of Dakshiṇa Kosala precisely included the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur in Orissa. The boundaries of this Janapada on the north ran from the source of the Narmadā at Amarakaṇṭaka in the Mekāla range towards north-east thus forming the outer limits of the districts of Bilaspur, Surguja and Raigarh. On the west, the boundaries followed the Śuktimat range and included the districts of Durg and Raipur. At times, it extended to the Wen-Gaṅgā absorbing in it the bordering areas of the eastern districts of Berar. The Southern limit went upto the semi-circular chain of the Śuktimat, which formed a dividing line between Dakshiṇa Kosala and Mahākāntāra. Later on the country south of Dakshiṇa Kosala became known as Chakrakôṭya identified with the modern district of Bastar. Lastly the eastern boundary of Dakshiṇa Kosala ran along the Upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries upto Sonepur and then taking the southern direction along the Telā or Tel, a tributary of the Mahānadī. This limit included in it the district of Sambalpur and the former princely states of Pa-ṭnā,

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1. Indian Archaeology 1955-56 --- A Review, p.27

Sonepur, Bāmrā and Rairākhol bordering on Sambalpur in Orissa, in which Somavaṁśī inscriptional records have been found.

The territory of Dakshiṇa Kosala, thus, roughly corresponds with the description of Yuan Chwang.[1]

DYNASTIC SURVEY OF THE LAND:

The King of Dakshiṇa Kosala at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit in all probability was Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna of the Somavaṁśī dynasty.[2] An earlier King of this dynasty, Tīvaradeva issued his Rājim [3] and Balodā [4] plates from Śrīpura. In these records, he is stated to have " acquired the sovereignty of the entire Kosala(i.e. Dakshiṇa Kosala) country;"and in the circular seal attached to these plates, the King is called ' Kosalādhipati.' This shows that the Somavaṁśī Kings ruled over entire Kosala country from their capital at Śrīpura. They were afterwards ousted from the part of Dakshiṇa Kosala by their southern neighbour the Nala Kings, who ruled over the Bastar tract.[5] The Somavaṁśī Kings subsequently settled in Sambalpur -Sonepur region of Orissa. The Sambalpur-Sonepur region was also known as Kosala or Dakshiṇa Kosala. That Sonepur formed a part of ' Sakala Kosala ' is also referred to in the Paṭnā Museum

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1. Watters: On Yuan Chwang's, Vol.II, p.200.
2. E.I., Vol.XXIII,pp.118 ff; Ibid., Vol.XXVII, pp.323 ff.
3. C.I.I., Vol. III, pp.294 ff., and Plate.
4. E.I., Vol. VII, pp.194 ff. and Plates.
5. Ibid., Vol.XXVI, pp.49 ff.

plates of the Later Somavaṁsī King Someśvara II, the ' Sakala Kosalādhīśvara ', who issued the plates while residing at Suvarṇṇapura.[1] Other records of these Somavaṁśī rulers are known from Sonepur [2] and the former state of Paṭnā[3] and they refer to them as ' lord of Kosala.' Their contemporaries in the Bilaspur, Raipur and Chhattisgarh tract were the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Prior to them, this region was occupied by the Bāṇas. It has been suggested that the Somavaṁśīs were ousted by the Bāṇas from the Bilaspur region.[4] The Bāṇa Kingdom in the Bilaspur region was conquered by the Kalachuris of Tripurī, particularly, Śaṅkaragaṇa in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. Śaṅkaragaṇa or Mugdhatuṅga, the eldest son of Kokkalla is credited with the conquest of Pālī (i.e. the Bilaspur region) from the lord of Kosala [5]. Afterwards, the victor placed the conquered territory of Dakshiṇa Kosala in the charge of one of his younger brothers.[6] In the family of this younger brother of Śaṅkaragaṇa was born Kaliṅgarāja, who originated the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.[7] He made Tuṁmāṇa, which is identified with a village

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1. E.I., Vol. XIX, p.99.
2. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II,1916,pp.45 ff.
3. E.I., Vol. XXII, p.136.
4. Panigrahi, K.C.: Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa, p.4.
5. Bilhārī Stone - inscription, E.I., Vol.I, p.256.
6. Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.78.
7. Ibid., Vol.XIX. p.79.

named Tumān in the Bilaspur district, the capital of Dakshiṇa Kosala. [1] Later on, his grandson, Ratnarāja, founded the town of Ratnapura, where the capital was shifted from Tummāṇa. The dynasty afterwards became known as the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Pṛithvīdeva I, the son and successor of Ratnarāja, for the first time is described as the 'ruler of the entire Kosala country' in his Amodā grant.[2] Thus, the entire Bilaspur, Raipur and Chhattisgarh (excluding Bastar area ) region of Dakshiṇa Kosala was governed by the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur from the last quarter of 11th century A.D. The descendants of Pṛithvīdeva I continued to rule over Dakshiṇa Kosala from their capital town Ratanpura ( present Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilaspur) uninterruptedly for over 700 years, until in their turn, they too fell a victim to the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1741 A.D. Finally the Bhonsla-territories lapsed to the British in 1853 A.D.

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1. E.I., Vol. I, pp.34-35.

2. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p.80.

## CHAPTER II

## ORIGIN, STATUS, GENEALOGY AND CHRONLOGY OF THE KALACHURIS

The origin of the Kalachuris, like several other Kshatriya tribes of Ancient India, is obscure and uncertain. The epigraphic records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, Sarayūpāra and Ratanpur contain the legendary portion of the genealogy, which finds its elaborate description in the Purāṇas. Thus the Bilhāri stone inscription [1] of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the Kasia stone inscription [2] of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra and the Ratanpur stone inscription [3] of Jājalladeva I, state that Kārttavīrya, the ancestor of the Haihayas was born in the primeval race of the moon[4]. The Banaras copper-plate inscription[5] of Karṇadeva and all the copper-plate charters of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, record that Kārttavīrya was born in the family of Manu Vaivasvata[6], who belonged to the Solar race. The Kalachuris are, thus, ascribed a joint heritage of the Solar as well as the Lunar race. This fact finds its corroboration in the Khairhā Plates [7] and the Jabalpur copper- plate

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1. E.I., Vol.I,p.255
2. E.I., VolXVIII, pp.131-32.
3. E.I., Vol.I, p.34
4. एतद्यत्परमं विहंतृ तिमिरं त्रैलोक्य नेत्र द्युति ज्योतिस्तत्पुरुषं (षा:) सुधाकर इति प्राहुस्तमन्त --------।
   --------जोन चरम: साम्राज्य सूत्रं यत: क्षात्रस्यादितदन्वये सममवत् श्रीकार्तवीर्य: क्षितौ ।।
5. E.I., Vol.II,p.305.
6. यदेतदग्रेसरमम्ब (म्ब) रस्य ज्योति: स पूषा पुरुष: पुराण: ।
   अथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वये भूद्भुवि कार्तवीर्य: ।।
7. E.I., Vol.XII, p.210.

inscription[1] of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, where in Bodhana or Budha is described simultaneously as the son of the primeval king Moon and the son-in-law in the house of the Sun[2].

The Purāṇic description and the epigraphic evidences pertaining to the origin of the Kalachuris make it clear that the dynasty had a hoary antiquity in comparision with the contemporary Kshatriya communities of Central India, namely the Chandellas and the four fire-born races, the Chāhamānas, the Pratihāras, the Chālukyas and the Paramāras. The Chandellas similarly trace their descent from the moon[3]. The founders of the four fire-born races are said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vasishṭha on the celebrated Ābū mountain[4]. The account, as given in connection with the origin of the Chandellas and the fire-born races, is so vague that unlike Kalachuris, their descent cannot be traced to similar Kshatriya tribes of Ancient India.

The Purāṇic tradition, referred to in the Kalachuri records and like other royal genealogies of ancient India pre-

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1. E.I., Vol.II,p.3

2. अथ वो (बो) धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमञ्जबान्धवस्य ।
तनयं जनयांव (ब) भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥

3. Prithvīrāja-Rāsô(Mahobā-Khanda), quoted by Cunningham in A.S.I.R., Vol. II, pp.445-46;
also, Paramāla-Rāsô, pp.9-13.

4. Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān,
Vol. I, pp.75-76.

served by the efforts of the Sūtas[1], starts from the Seventh Manu, otherwise known as Manu Vaivasvata. Manu is said to have had ten sons[2], of whom the eldest was Ila. Ila entered Śiva's grove Śaravana[3] and by Umā's curse turned into a woman, to be called Ilā[4] afterwards. Ila consorted with Budha[5], son of Sôma and had by him a son Pururavas Aila. According to the other version[6], Manu had nine sons[7]. He offered a sacrifice to Mitra and Varuṇa to obtain a son, but instead a daughter Ilā was born. She met Budha and bore Purūravas. Purūravas Aila[8] reigned at Pratishṭhāna and became the progenitor of the Aila race. The Purāṇas also call him the inheritor of 'Somārkavaṃśa'. He was the contemporary

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1. स्वधर्म एव सूतस्य सद्भिर्दृष्टः पुरातनैः ।
देवतानाम् ऋषीणां च राज्ञां चामिततेजसाम् ॥
वंशानां धारणं कार्यं श्रुतानां च महात्मनां ।
इतिहास-पुराणेषु दिष्टा ये ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥
-Vā., 1,31-32.

2. Mat. 11,40-41,19; Pad. V,8,75-79.

3. Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa call Umāvana.

4. Vā. 85,27. Bd iii, 60,27, Mat. 11,44-47. Vis. IV,1,5,-11. Mārk. 108. Bhāg. IX,1,11-40. Some scholars give their own explanation for the myth. Vide P.L.Bhargava-India in the Vedic Age, pp.37-38.

5. Vā. 90,43. Bd. iii,61,16. Br. 9. Hv. 25,45. Vis. IV,6,5-19. Bhāg IX,14,3-14. Ag. 273,7. Mat. 24,3. Gar. I, 139,1-2.

6. Vā. 85,3-4. Bd. III,601,2-6. Br. 7,1-23. Hv. 10,1-17. Śiv. V,36,2-19.

7. मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यान्पुत्रा वै नव तत्समाः । इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ॥
नरिष्यन्तस्तथा प्रांशुर्नभागोदिष्ट एव च। करूषश्च पृषध्रश्च नवैते मानवाः स्मृताः ॥
-Vā. 85,3-4.

8. Vā. 91,1, Bd. III,65,45-46; 66,1-2, 19-22. Mat. 12-15. Vis IV, 1,13. Bhāg. IX,1,35,42.

King of Ikshvāku of the Solar race.[1]

Purūravas Aila had six sons from Urvaśī[2]. The eldest son Āyu[3] ruled his father's kingdom from Pratishṭhāna. Āyu married Svarabhānu's daughter Prabhā and the latter bore him five sons[4], namely Nahusha, Kshatravṛiddha, Rambha, Rajī and Anênas. The eldest, Nahusha, succeeded Āyu in the main line at Pratishṭhāna and the second, Kshatravṛiddha, established himself at Kāśī in the east.

Nahusha married Virajā[5], the mind-born daughter of Ājyapa-pitṛies and had six sons[6] from her. They were Yati, Yayāti, Samyāti, Āyāti, Viyati and Kṛiti. The eldest son, Yati became

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1. इलस्य नाम्ना तद्वंशमिलावृतमभूत्तदा ।
सोमार्कवंशयोरादाविलो भून्मनुनन्दन ॥
एवं पुरूरवा: पुंसोरमवद्वंशवर्धन: ।
इक्ष्वाकुरर्कवंशस्य तथैवोक्तस्तपोधना: ॥
-Mat. 12, 14-15.

2. Vā. 2,16; 91, 4. Bd. iii, 65, 46; 66,4-5. Vis. IV,6,21-45. Bhāg. IX, 14, 16-42; 15-1; 26,4-5.
Matsya - Purāṇa (24,33-34) gives the number of sons as eight.

3. Vā. 91,51. Bd. III, 66,22. Mat. 24,33-35. Vis. IV, 8,1. Bhāg. IX, 15,1.

4. Vā. 92, 1-2. Bd. III, 67,1-2. Mat. 24,34-35. Vis. IV,8,1. Bhāg. IX, 17, 1-2.

5. Vā. 93, 12. Br. 12, 1. Hv. 30,1. Kūr. I, 22,5. Lg. I, 66, 60-1.

6. Vā. 93, 12-13. Bd. III, 68, 12-13, Vis. IV, 10,1. Bhāg. IX, 18, 1.
Matsya- Purāṇa (24,49-50)numbers them seven.

an ascetic and the next son Yayāti[1] ruled the Kingdom after Nahusha.

Yayāti had two wives. His first wife was Dêvayānī, the daughter of the great Bhārggava-ṛishi Uśanas-Śukra[2] and the second, Śarmishṭhā was the daughter of the Asura King, Vṛisha-parvan[3]. Yayāti's marriage with Dêvayānī finds its mention in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata[4], as it was the pratilôma marriage and was reprehensible according to marriage rules allowed under the 'varṇāśramadharma'[5] . From his marriages, Yayāti had five sons[6]. Dêvayānī bore two sons, Yadu and Turvasu and Śarmishṭhā three, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. After a long reign, Yayāti divided the kingdom[7] among his five sons. The youngest

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1. Vā.93, 15. Bd. 68,14. Mat. 24,51, Vis.IV, 10,1. Bhāg.IX,18,3,
2. Mbh. 1,60,40-42. Mat. 25,25.
3. Vā. 68, 23-24. Bd. III, 6, 23-25. Mat. 6, 20-22. Vis.I,21,6.
4. Ādiparvan, Chapter 76.
5. एकदेहोद्भवा वर्णाश्चत्वारो ऽपि वराङ्गने ।
   पृथग्धर्माः पृथक्शौचास्तेषां तु ब्राह्मणो वरः ।।

   Mbh. 1,76, 19.

   Manu: ( Adhyāya, III, 12) also recommends a girl of equal caste for the first marriage- sacrament of 'Twice-Born Men'. For those who take to it for the second time through mere desire, an Anulôma marriage is, however, preferred:-

   सवर्णाऽग्रे द्विजातीनां प्रशस्ता दारकर्मणि ।
   कामतस्तु प्रवृत्तानामिमाः स्युः क्रमशो वराः ।।
6. Vā.93,15-17. Bd.III, 68,15-16. Mat.24,52-54.Vis.IV,10,2. Bhāg. IX, 18,29-33.
7. Vā.93,88-90. Bd. III,68-90-92. Vis.IV,10,16-18. Bhāg.IX,19,22-23.

son'Pūru continued the main line at Pratishṭhāna Yadu got the South-West[1], Turvasu, the South-East, Druhyu, the West and Anu, the North'[2].

Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti had five sons[3], Sahasrajita, Kroshṭu, Anala, Ajita and Laghu or Ripu. With Yadu's sons, Sahasrajita and Kroshṭu, the descendants of Yadu branched off into the Haihayas and the Yadavas. Sahasrajita's son was Śatajita[4]. Śatajita had three sons[5], namely Haihaya, Haya, and Vêṇuhaya. From Haihaya, the descendants of this dynasty were known as the Haihayas[6], whose genealogy is given by twelve Purāṇas.[7]

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1. Pargiter (A.I.H.T. p.259, Fn.7) suggests Yadu's territories towards the South-West embracing the country watered by the rivers Charmaṇvatī (Chambal),Vetravati(Betwa) and Śuktimatī (Ken). Similarly Turvasu was given the region round Rewah, Druhyu, the country west of the Yamunā and north of the Chambal and Anu the northern portion of the Ganges-Jumnā-Doab.

2. अभिषिच्य ततः पूरुं स्व-राज्ये सुतमात्मनः ।
दिशि दक्षिण-पूर्वस्यां तुर्वसुं तु न्यवेशयत् ।।
दक्षिणापरतो राजा यदुं ज्येष्ठं न्यवेशयत् ।
प्रतीच्यां उत्तरस्यां च द्रुह्युं चानुं च तावुभौ ।।
- Vā. 93,88-90.

3. Vā.94,2. Bd. III,69,2. Mat.43,6-7. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg.IX,23,20. Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas mention only four sons.

4. Vā.94,3. Bd.III, 69,3. Mat.43,7. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg.IX,23,20.

5. Vā.94,3-4. Bd.III,69,3-4. Mat.43,8. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg.IX,23,21.

6. Br.13,207. Hv.34,51. Lg.I, 68,15-17.

7. Vā.94,3-54. Bd.III,69,3-55. Mat.43,7-49. Vis.IV,11,3-7. Br.13,154-207. Hv. 33,1-52. Pad.V,12,110-149. Lg.I,68,3-20. Kūr.I,22,13-21; 23,1-4,45. Ag.275,1-11. Gar.I,139,19-25. Bhāg. IX,23,21-30.

In the regular lineage, Haihaya's son was Dharmanêtra[1]. Dharmanêtra had similarly a son, named Kunti[2] and Kunti's son was Saṁjñeya[3]. Saṁjñeya's son Mahishmān[4] founded the city of Māhishmatī[5], which became the capital of the Haihayas afterwards. Mahishmān's son Bhadrasṙêṇya[6] extended his sway eastwards and conquered the Kingdom of Kāśī. Bhadrasṙêṇya's son was Durdama[7] and the latter had a son, named Kanaka[8]. Kanaka had four brave sons[9], namely Kṛitavīrya, Kṛitāgni, Kṛitavarman and Kṛitaujā. Kṛitavīrya's son Arjuna[10], also known 'Kārtavīr-

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1. Vā.94,4. Bḍ.III,69,4. Mat.43,9. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg.IX,23,22. Bhāgavata describes 'Dharma' and'Nêtra' as two persons i.e. father and son. Other Puranas call 'Dharmanêtra' as one name.
2. Vā. 94,5. Vāyu calls 'Kīrti'. Bḍ. III, 69,5. Mat.43,9. Vis. IV, 11,3. Bhāg. IX, 23,22.
3. Vā. 94,5, Bḍ.III, 69,5. Mat.43,9. Vis. IV,II,3. Bhāg.IX,23,22. Bhāgavata gives the name as 'Sôhañji'.
4. Vā. 94, 5. Bḍ. III, 69,5. Mat.43, 10. Vis.IV, 11,3. Bhāg.IX, 23,22.
5. Hv. 33,5. Pd. VI, 115, 4.
6. Vā. 94, 6. Bḍ. III, 69,6. Mat.43,11. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg. IX,23,22. Hv.33,5-6. Pd.V,12,114.
7. Vā.94,7. Bd. III,69,7. Mat.43,11. Vis.IV,11,3. Bhāg.IX,23,23. Bhāgavata mentions two sons, 'Durmada' and 'Dhanaka'. The latter had four sons, namely 'Kṛitavīrya', 'Kṛitāgni','Kṛitavarman' and 'Kṛitaujā'.
8. Vā.94,7, Bḍ.III, 69,7. Mat. 43,12. Vis.IV,11,3.
9. Vā.94,8-9. Bḍ. III,69-8-9. Mat. 43,12-13. Vis.IV,11,3.
10. Vā.94,23. Bḍ. III,69,9-23. Mat.43,17-18,26. Vis.IV,113. Bhāg.IX, 23,24.

yārjuna' was a great monarch and conqueror. His name invariably occurs in the dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra[1], Tripurī[2], and Ratanpur[3], although in a conventional form. Kārtavirya is said to have imprisoned Rāvaṇa, but had released him afterwards[4]. This incident is prominently mentioned in some of the copper-plate charters from Tripurī and Ratanpur[5]. The Puranic description is somewhat exaggerated. The virtuous deeds of Kārtavīrya, however, provided abundant material for the writers of the royal eulogies. The Purāṇas[6] have almost a last say on the meritorious deeds of Kārtavīrya Arjuna[7].

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1. Kasia stone Ins. Vv.11-12. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.132.
   Kahla Plate, V.4. , E.I., Vol.VII, p.89.
2. Bilhāri stone Insc. Vv.8-11., E.I., Vol.I, p.255.
   Banaras Plates. Vv.3-4, E.I., Vol.II, p.305.
   Goharwā Plates, Vv.5-6, E.I., Vol.XI, p.142.
   Khairhā Plates, Vv.5-6, E.I., Vol.XII, p.211.
3. Amodā Plates, Vv.2-3, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.78.
   Ratanpur stone Ins., Vv.2-3, E.I., Vol.I, p.34.
4. Rāmāyaṇa. VII, 20,61-72; 21,1-18. Vā.94,35. Bḍ.III,69,35-36. Mat. 43,37-39. Vis.IV,11,6.
5. देव: श्रीकार्त्तवीर्य: क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्र्या हैलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(बि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुताश्लेषसन्तोषितेशम् ।
   दोर्दण्डाक(का)ण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहावारिरेवाप्रवाहव्याधूतत्र्यक्षपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो वव(बब)न्ध ।।
6. Vā.94,20. Bḍ. III,69,20. Mat.43,24. Vis.IV,11,4.Bhāg.IX,23,25.
7. न नूनं कार्तवीर्यस्य गतिं यास्यन्ति मानवा: ।
   यज्ञैर्दानैस्तपोभिश्च विक्रमेण श्रुतेन च ।।
   - Vā. 94,20.

The tradition continues that Kārtavirya Arjuna was killed by Bhārgava Paraśurāma[1]. Kārtavīrya Arjuna had one hundred sons. Among them five[2], namely, Jayadhvaja, Śūrasena, Vṛishabha, Madhu and Ūrjita were famous. Jayadhvaja's son was Tālajaṅgha[3] and the latter had hundred sons, chief of whom was Vīrahôtra. These sons of Tālajaṅgha were known as the Tālajaṅghas. Afterwards, the Haihayas comprised five leading groups[4], the Vītihôtras, Bhôjas, Avantis, Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajaṅghas[5]. Their dominion extended from the Gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jamuna doab and thence to Banaras[6].

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1. Vā.94,47. Bd.III, 69,48. Mat.43,44. Vis.IV,11,7.

2. Vā.94,48. Vāyu version slightly differs in names.
Bd.III,69,49-50. Mat.43,45-46.Vis.IV,11,7.Bhāg.IX,23,27.

3. Vā.94,48. Bd.III,69,49-50. Mat. 43,45-46.Vis.IV,11,7.
Bhāg.IX, 23,27.

4. Vā.94,51-52. Bd.III,69,52-53. Mat.43,48-49.

5. तेषां प चगणा: ख्याता: हैहयानां महात्मनाम् ।
वीतिहोत्राश्च संजाता: भोजाश्चावन्तयस्तथा ।।
तुण्डिकेराश्च विक्रान्तास्तालजंघास्तथैव व ।
- Vā. 94,51-52.

6. Mbh. Āśvamedhika-Parva, 88,2,4-5,12-16.
also Rice: The Mahābhārata.
(Āśvamedhika-Parva, Chapter 83), p.79.

The Bhāgavata tradition [1] is slightly different in saying that Kārtavīrya Arjuna had thousand sons and all of them except five were killed in battle. The remaining five sons were Jayadhvaja, Śūrasena, Vṛishabha, Madhu and Ūrjita. Jayadhvaja's son was Tālajaṅgha. The latter had hundred sons, who were known as the Tālajaṅghas. They were supplanted by Aurva. The oldest of them was Vītihotra. Vītihotra's son was Madhu and the latter had hundred sons, the eldest of whom was Vṛishṇi. For Madhu, Vṛishṇi and Yadu, later on, the family became known as the Mādhava, Vārshṇêya and Yādava[2].

The Vāyu Purāṇa[3] extends the list of the Haihayas by three generations after Vīrahôtra. Vīrahôtra's son was Ananta, the latter's son was Durjaya and from Durjaya was born Amitradarśana. With Amitradarśana, the Vāyu tradition ends. Other Purāṇas[4] also extend the list by two or three generations after Vītihôtra.

The Purāṇic tradition, in this way gives an account of 25 generations from the moon and also Manu upto the last descendant Amitradarśana. The Purāṇas[5] contain a passage[6] in

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1. Bhāg. IX,23,27-29.
2. Ibid. IX,23,30.
3. Vā.94,53.
4. Bd.III,69,53-54. Mat.43,48-49. Matsya Purāṇa gives the names as Anarta, Durjeya and Amitradarśana. Pad.V,12,148-49. Ag.274,11.
5. Vā.99,322-25.Bd.III,74,135-38.The Brahmāṇḍa version slightly differs in numbers. Mat.272,13-17.
6. स्तै: सार्धम् भविष्यन्ति यावत्कालं नृपा: परे ।
तुल्य कालम् भविष्यन्ति सर्वे ह्येते महीक्षित: ।।
ऐक्ष्वाकवश्चतुर्विंशत्पंचाला: सप्तविंशति:।
काश्या स्तुचतुर्विंशदष्टाविंशतिहैह्या:।। ------।।
—Vā. 99, 322-23.

connection with the Dynasties of the Kali Age, where it is mentioned that 'contemporaneous with the Brahadrathas and their successors, the Pradyôtas and Śaiśunāgas, there will be other kings, namely 24 Aiksvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 kings of Kāśī, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 Kurus, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas, and 20 Vītihôtras and all these kings will endure the same time.'[1]

Out of these ten dynasties in Northern and Central India, which were contemporary with the kings of Magadha, the Haihayas, Aśmakas and Vītihôtras, according to Prof. Rapson, were occupying the countries of the river Chambal in the north and the river Narmadā in the south.[2] The Haihayas prospered in South-Western part of central India or South-Mālwā.[3] Their traditional capital was at Māhishmatī, or Māhissati of the Buddhist-texts,[4] identified with the rocky island of Oṁkār-Māndhātā[5] in Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. There are others who identify Māhishmatī with a town named Maheshwar[6], on the north bank of the Narmadā at a distance of 40 miles South of Indore and 70 miles South of Ujjain. The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhishmatī as Haihaya.[7]

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1. Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp.23 and 69.
2. Rapson, E.J., The Cambridge History of India, Vol.I,p.316.
3. Pargiter, F.E., Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.263.
4. DIgha, XIX, 36; also Rhys Davids-Buddhist India,p.29
5. Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1910, p.445; B.C.Law - H.G.A.I.,p.322.
6. J.R.A.S., 1910, p.443; I.A., 1875, pp.346 ff. Dr.H.D.Sankalia has made a good case for the identification of Māhishmatī with Maheshwar - The Excavation at Maheshwar and Nāvdāṭoli, pp.1-15.
7. Vā. 94, 5-26; Mat. 83, 8-29.

The Avanti Janapada, which was also ruled over by a Haihaya Branch, lay to the South of Śūrasena.[1] It comprised the tracts of Ujjain and Mālwā.[2] The capital of the state was also known as Avanti or Ujjayinī, identified with modern Ujjain. The Mahābhārata speaks Avanti and Māhishmatī as two different Janapadas.[3] Some scholars think that the Avanti Janapada was divided into two parts,[4] by the Vindhyas: the northern part drained by the Śiprā - a tributary of the Chambal(Charmaṇvatī) and other streams had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part washed by the Narmadā had its centre at Māhishmatī. The Avantis, as we have already seen, were one of the five branches of the Haihayas, namely Vītihôtras,Bhôjas,Avantis,Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajaṅghas.[5] The Budhist texts[6] also mention Chedi, Aśvaka or Aśmaka and Avanti among the sixteen Mahājanapadas,[7] flourishing shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. The Vītihôtras and the Aśmakas are similarly associated in literature with the Avantis of Western Mālwā whose capital was Ujjayinī.[8] In the Purāṇic list of the ten ruling dynasties, the rulers of

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1. Pusalkar, A.D., The Vedic Age,p.325.
2. Cunningham, A., Ancient Geography of India, pp.559-69.
3. Mbh.,II,28,10-11.4. Raychaudhuri,P.H.A.I.,pp.144-45.
5. Mat., 43,48-49; B.C.Law, T.A.I., p.392.
6. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I,213; IV,252,256,260; Mahāvastu,I,34,II,3; Vinaya Texts,II,146 fn.
7. The age of Imperial Unity, p.1.
8. B.C.Law: T.A.I., p.393.

Avanti are not mentioned. Prof. Rapson suggests that the twenty-eight (according to some Purāṇas twenty four) Haihayas, who are said to have ruled after the Bhārata War, were really the rulers of Avanti.[1] According to some scholars,[2] the twenty VItihôtras were the kings of Avanti.

The Aśmakas are placed by Pāṇini (IV. 1.173) in South. Their capital was Pratishṭhāna, modern Paiṭhan on the Godāvarī.[3] At another place Pāṇini (VI.2.12) refers to the pair names '<u>Avanty-aśmakaḥ</u>' showing their geographical proximity.[4] Prof.D.R.Bhandarkar suggests that Aśmaka or Assaka at one time included Mūlaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.[5]

These inferences make us believe that the different groups of the Haihayas were occupying the Avanti-Māndhātā region before the rise of Mahāpadmananda as the Imperial Sovereign of Northern India.[6] The Purāṇas further include these Janapadas among the dwellers in the Vindhyan tracts, i.e.'<u>the Vindhya-pṛishṭhanivāsinaḥ</u>'.[7] In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed

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1. Rapson, E.J., <u>The Cambridge History of India</u>, Vol.I, p.316.
2. <u>J.B.O.R.S.</u>, 1915, p.10.
3. Agrawala, V.S., <u>India As Known to Pāṇini</u>, p.38.
4. <u>Ibid</u>,,p.61.
5. Bhandarkar, D.R., <u>Carmichael Lectures</u>, pp.53-54.
6. <u>Vā</u>. 99, 264-464.
7. <u>Vā</u>. 45, 132-34; <u>Mat</u>.113,52-54. The passage runs -

मालवाश्च करूषाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह।
उत्तमाणा दशाणश्च भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह ।।
तोसलाः कौसलाश्चैव त्रैपुरावैदिकास्तथा ।
तुपुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव षट्पुरा निषधैः सह ।।
अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च वीतिहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः ।
एते जनपदाः सर्वे विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः।।

an integral part of the Magadhan Empire, as Mahāpadmananda, the first Nanda king is described in the Puranas as 'Êkarāṭ' or sole and undisputed monarch of the earth and 'sarvakshatrāntaka', that is the destroyer of all Kshatriya families, which ruled contemporaneously with the 'Śaiśunāgas'.[1]

The tradition of the Haihayas, thus traced, presents further difficulties of fitting the dynasty in the known time-limits of ancient Indian history. The Purāṇas make the Bhārata War a starting point in settling dates of the Purāṇic events occurring before and after it, and some scholars try to fix the period from the beginning of the rule of Manu Vaivasvata to the Bhārata War between c.3100 B.C. and c.1400 B.C.[2] Then the traditional history from the accession of Parīkshit to the end of Bārhadratha Dynasty takes us further to the Age of Sixteen Mahājanapadas.[3] Finally the well-known Kshatriya dynasties including the Haihayas were uprooted by Mahāpadmanada[4], the great Nanda King in the first half of the fourth century B.C. whose coronation took place after 1050 years of the birth of King Parīkshit.[5] But the long Purāṇic tradition is not in near conformity with the modern archaeological researches. If we take the beginning of the period of Manu Vaivasvat as c.3100 B.C.

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1. Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I., p.233.
2. Pusalkar, A.D., The Vedic Age, pp.271-300
3. Ibid., pp.319-28.
4. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri: Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p.17
5. महापद्मामिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत्परीक्षितः । एतद्वर्षसहस्रंतुज्ञेयं पंचाशदुत्तरम् ॥

Pargiter: The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, p.58.

it would directly clash with the Age of Indus civilization,[1] which was probably of the Non-Aryan origin.[2] Recently the findings of the Maheshwar and Nāvḍāṭoli excavations have led Dr.H.D.Sankalia to surmise that the area of the Narmadā, the Chambal and their tributaries of Central India was colonized by a people in about 1200 B.C. of the Chalcolithic Age, whose principal hall-mark was a fine painted pottery.[3] These people had some affinity with the contemporary Chalcolithic cultures of the Deccan, Karnātak, Rājpūtānā and Saurāshṭra.[4] This Chalcolithic culture of Central and Western India according to Dr. Sankalia, represents a folk-movement of early Āryans from Iran and other Western Asiatic countries, who arrived in India about 1500 B.C. These people after driving out the Nāgas, settled down in the Narmadā Valley and they were the Haihayas and other branches of the Yadu-Vaṁśa mentioned by the Purāṇas.[5] This culture vanished after the 7th-6th century B.C.[6] and probably the Haihayas had to leave the Narmadā region along with their vain glory giving place to other dynasties like the Pradyôtas and Śaiśunāgas.[7]

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1. Wheeler, R.E.M., The Indus Civilization, p.93
2. V.Gordon Childe, New Light on the Most Ancient East, p.185
3. Sankalia, H.D., Pre and Protohistory of Malwa, J.M.P.I.P. Vol.I, p.30.
4. V.D.Krishnaswami, The Neolithic Pattern of India, Presidential Address, Section of Anthropology and Archaeology 46th Indian Science Congress Session, Delhi 1959, pp.5-16.
5. Sankalia, H.D., The Excavations at Maheshwar and Nāvḍāṭôli-1952-53, p.5 and p.252.
6. Ibid., J.M.P.I.P., Vol. I, P.30.
7. The Age of Imperial Unity, p.14.

The Purāṇas do not give any clear indication of the subsequent history of these Haihaya families of Māhishmatī and Ujjayinī. The capital of Avanti passed in the hands of the Gardabhilla branch of the Mālava people[1] and the Śakas[2], before the Guptas finally annexed it to their empire.[3] Besides Avanti, the region round the ancient Māhishmatī also passed in the hands of the Śaka Kshatraps of Western India which is known from the Jūnāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.[4] The Haihayas lost their political importance, but they were not totally extinct, it is clear from the authority of Bṛihatsaṁhitā, in which the Haihayas are mentioned as to have been living in the Western part of the country.[5] The epigraphic records of the early Chālukyas throw some light on the political life of the Haihayas in 7th and 8th centuries A.D. It is said that Vinayāditya(681-696 A.D.), the son of the Chālukya Vikramāditya I subdued the Haihayas,[6] and Vikrāmaditya II(733-745 A.D.) married two Haihaya princesses - Lokamahādevī and her younger sister Trailokya - mahādevī.[7] Again Vishṇuvardhan IV (764-799 A.D.), the son of

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1. Pandey, Raj Bali, Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, pp.42-50.
2. E.I., Vol VIII, pp.36 ff.
3. Majumdar, R.C.: The Classical Age, p.21.
4. E.I., Vol. VIII, p.44.
5. अपरस्यां मणिमान् मैघवान् वनौघः चतुरार्पणो ऽस्तगिरिः ।
   अपरान्तकशान्तिकहैहय प्रशस्तादिवीक्काणाः ॥
   - Bṛihatsaṁhitā, XIV,20.
6. I.A., Vol.VI, p.92; and I.A., Vol. VII, p.302.
7. E.I., Vol III, p.5.

Vijayāditya I (747-764 A.D.) of the Eastern Chālukya family married a Haihaya princess, by whom he had a son named Nṛiparudra[1]. The latter is mentioned as a Dutaka in the Korroparru grant of Vijayāditya II (799-843 A.D.)[2]. A feudatory family of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Revarasa is also known to have been serving in the 11th century A.D. under the Western Chālukya King Jagadekamalla or Jayasiṁha II. Revarasa uses the hereditary titles of ' Māhishmatī-puravarêśvara' and ' Ahihaya-vaṁśodbhava'in his yewur [3] and Kembhāvi[4] inscriptions. Similarly the Haihayas of Koṇamaṇḍala( a tract of country in the Godāvarī deltā) were serving as feudatories of the Eastern Chālukyas upto the 12th century A.D.[5]

These Haihayas are generally identified with the Early Kalachuris of the 6th century A.D.[6] How the Kalachuris came to be equated with the Haihayas, is again a matter of investigation. The early records of the Haihayas and of the Kalachuris are silent over this matter. Both the words are used as synonyms for each other and scholars hold different views on this subject. Those who believe in the Haihaya tradition traced so far, think that they were an ancient race.[7] But there are others, who stick to the dynastic name ' Kalachuri '

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1. The age of Imperial Kanauj, p.132.
2. I.A., Vol.XX, p.415.
3. E.I., VolXII, P.269.
4. Ibid., VolXII, p.291.
5. D.C.Ganguly, The Eastern Chālukyas, pp.186-189.
6. V.V.Mirashi, C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.XLV.
7. D.C.Ganguly in Chapter V, Central and Western India, published in, The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p.86.

and suggest that the Kalachuris were foreigners, who probably entered India in the train of the Hūṇas and Gurjaras.[1] We have already seen that the Kalachuris claimed their descent from the Haihaya Arjuna,[2] although the information is given by mediaeval epigraphs and therefore late. Moreover, these dynastic epigraphs, covering a wide range from the 6th century A.D. down to the 15th century A.D. contain several variants of the 'Kalachuri' word. They call themselves as Kaṭachchūri,[3] Kaṭachchuri,[4] Kalatsūri[5], Kālachchuri[6], Kalachuti[7], Kulachuri[8], and Kalachuri[9]. The origin of the name is uncertain. The word 'Kalachuri'[10] or 'Kalāśuri'[11] is invariably used for the royal family under discussion. Other lexicons[12] also do not furnish any more information about its origin.

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1. [illegible] The Classical Age, p.194.
2. [illegible] E.I., Vol.II, p.3.
3. Ābhôṇa plates of Śaṅkargaṇa of (Kalachuri) Saṁvat 347, E.I., Vol.IX, p.297.
4. Aihoḷe Inscription of Pulakêśin II, E.I., Vol.VI, p.5.
5. Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalêśa Chālukya (602 A.D.), I.A., Vol.XIX, p.18.
6. Kauthem plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya V, Śaka Saṁvat 930, I.A., Vol.XVI, p.22.
7. Khalāri Inscription of the reign of Haribrahmadeva, V.E.1470, E.I. Vol.II, p.230.
8. Rājim Inscription of Jagapāladeva of K.E.896, I.A., Vol.XVII, p.140.
9. Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (K.E.874), E.I., Vol.II, p.3.
10. M.Monier-Williams- A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.260; and also V.S.Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.544.
11. M.Monier-Williams- A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.261.
12. [illegible]

Dr.Prabodh Chandra Bagchi on the philological grounds establishes his theory that like 'Turushka' and 'Ṭhākura', the dynastic name 'Kalachuri' is also of Turkish origin.[1] Discussing the 'Role of Central Asian Nomads in Indian History' Prof.Bagchi says that 'the founders of the Kalachuri dynasty were at first the 'Kuluchur' or the highest Turkish officials.[2] They had set up an independent kingdom when the central power had weakened. It is to be noted in this connection that the Kalachuris claimed descent from Sahasrabāhu Arjuna. Inspite of the fact that the latter is celebrated in the Indian mythology he reminds us of Assena from whom the innumerable Turkish hordes claimed their descent.'[3] The Professor believes that the Turks had come to India along with the Huns or shortly after them and he finds a significant reference in the Amodā copper-plate charter[4] of Pṛithvīdeva(I) of the Ratanpur branch, dated 831 K.E. - 1079 A.D. It is said that Kokkalla 'plundered the treasuries of Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara Koṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also those born of the Turushka and Raghu families.'[5] In the

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1. Dr.P.C.Bagchi, India and Central Asia, p.139.
2. Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhul Sāṅkṛityāyan mentions in his मध्य एशिया का इतिहास, खण्ड १, पृ० १०८ two similar words - कुह - तुह- चुह (किलिच खिलिज) and करा- हू both meaning the highest official.
3. Bagchi, India and Central Asia, pp.139-40.
4. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75-81.
5. ` कर्णाटवंगपति गूर्ज्जरकोंकणेश सा (शा) कंभरीपतितुरुष्करघूद्भवानाम्।

light of this passage, Dr.Bagchi concludes that the Gurjara-Pratihāras claimed their descent from the Raghu family. Similarly as regards the descendants of the Turushkas, they can be no other but the Kalachuris and such Turkish tribes as had followed the Hūns in India.[1]

Prof.Bagchi's theory that the Kalachuris are born of Turushkas and they followed the Huns in India, is unacceptable for the following reasons. Firstly, the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I only refer to Kokkalla's supposed exploits against the Turushkas and the passage has no bearing on the origin of the dynasty. Secondly, the word 'Kalachuri' is not the original form of the dynastic name. The earliest forms are 'Kaṭachchūri'[2], or Kaṭachchuri.[3] Thirdly, as Prof. Kielhorn has remarked that the earliest known Kaṭachchuri family of Saṅkaragaṇa possibly borrowed or imitated certain epithets, which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions.[4] The silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja, likewise, bore similarity to the silver coins of Skandagupta.[5] The former had the legend on his coins as 'Parama-Māheśvaramātā-patṛi-pādānudhyāta-śra-kṛishṇarāja!' [6] These epithets make one inclined

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1. Bagchi, India and Central Asia, pp.139-40.
2. Ābhôṇa plates of Saṅkargaṇa of 347 K.E.,E.I.,Vol.IX,p.297.
3. Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II of Śaka Saṁvat 556, E.I., Vol.VI, p.5.
4. E.I., Vol.VI, pp.295-96.
5. J.N.S.I., Vol.III, pp.22-23.
6. Ibid.,p.23.

to believe that they belonged to the indigenous stock.

Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya, a sanskrit work composed by the Kashmirian poet Jayānaka, towards the close of the 12th century A.D.[1] gives a poetic explanation[2] of the dynastic name '**Kalichuri**'. It is said that 'Kārtavīrya became known as Kalichuri because he gave protection to the Kṛita or Golden Age, who was being kidnapped by Kali.'[3] As the theft of an age by a particular king cannot be proved by any historical canon, we will have to dismiss this explanation merely as a poetic fancy.

Another theory proving the existence of the Kalachuri dynasty in the early centuries of the Christian era centres round the socalled Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chedi Era, which according to Prof.Kielhorn commenced on Āśvina Sudi 1 = the 5th September, 248 A.D.[4] Prof.V.V.Mirashi, who studied the problem in a very painstaking way,[5] has finally maintained that the Kalachuri-Chedi Era originally commenced on Kārttika Sudi 1 = the 25th September, 249 A.D.[6] The second part or the important one of

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1. Ray, DHNI, Vol.II, p.1060, fn.3.

2. Pṛithvīrāja-Vijaya, canto.VI, V.84, with the commentary of Jônarāja.

3. कलिजागार चुरिक्रियायां कृतस्यदत्ताभय एष राजा।
तेनास्य पृथ्वीवलय प्रसिद्धिं प्रापुर्यमूले कलिचुर्यु पारव्या।।
कार्तवीर्यस्य कलिचुरिरिति नाम प्रसिद्धं तत्र कविरन्वर्थतामूहते।चुरस्तेये इत्यस्य धातोः क्रिया चुरिक्रिया तस्यां हरणेऽर्थात्कृतयुगस्य कलिरुचतः। कार्तवीर्यः कृतस्य दत्ताभयः। तेन ध्रुवं कलिचुरिसंज्ञा राज्ञो भूमण्डले प्रसिद्धिमवहत् ।।
— PV., V.84, p.219.

4. E.I., Vol.I, pp.32-33; Ibid., Vol.II, pp.7 ff.

5. Mirashi, The Kalachuri-Chedi Era, A.B.D.R.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.1-55.

6. Ibid., Vol.XXVII, p.35.

the problem is regarding the origin of the era by a particular dynasty. Dr.Bhagvanlal Indraji at first identified it with the era of the Traikūṭakas.[1] After sometime he thought that the Ābhīra King Īśvaradatta was the founder of this era. He further argued that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long. They were driven out of the country round Trikūṭa by the Kshatrapas and had to retire to the Narmadā region and there assumed the name Haihaya or Kalachuri. Afterwards the Traikūṭakas again took possession of their former capital at the time of the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power.[2]

Rai Bahadur Dr.Hiralal further improved the theory of Dr.Indraji by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūṭa, from which the dynasty derived its name, were the Satpurā mountains having three prominent peaks - Āmrakūṭa, the present Amarakaṇṭaka, Sālakūṭa or Sālêṭekrī in the Balaghat District and Madhūkūṭa or Mohtur in the Chhindwara District.[3] But the location of Trikūṭa in the Satpura-range is contradicted on the grounds of literary and epigraphic evidences. Kālidāsa locates the Trikūṭa mountain in Aparānta[4] or

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1. I.A., Vol.XIII, p.76.

2. Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, 1886, Aryan Section, pp.221-22, quoted by Prof.V.V.Mirashi in C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.V, fn.1.

3. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.IX, pp.283-84.

4. Raghuvaṁśa, Canto.IV, Śloka 59.

northern Koṅkan. The Anjanêrī plates[1] of Bhoga-Śakti dated A.D. 709, also verify the poet's account and the theory of Rai Bahadur Hiralal is no longer tenable.

All the early dates of this era are reported from Western India. The misunderstanding of assigning the authorship of this era to the Kalachuris probably crept in the mind of some scholars for the fact that words 'Chedīśasya Saṁvat' 'Chedi Saṁvat' and 'Kalachuri Saṁvat' occur on a number of records[2] of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. They were a branch of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, who were using this era in the country of Chedi and therefore it is natural that their descendants who established themselves in Tuṁmāṇa or Southern Kosala, used to call it the Chedi or Kalachuri Samvat.

Now, the theory of Dr.Fleet[3] is generally accepted that instead of the Ābhīra Īśvaradatta, the Kalachuri-Chedi era was founded by the Ābhīra Īśvarasena, whose first record[4] from Nasik is dated in the 9th year of this era. The era thereafter became the current reckoning in the Ābhīra kingdom comprising Gujarāt, Koṅkan and Mahārāshṭra.

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1. E.I., Vol.XXV, p.231.
2. Eight records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur clearly specify the Chedi or Kalachuri Saṁvat on them, beginning with the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I dated in the Chedi year 831 = 1079 A.D., E.I., Vol.XIX, p.81.
3. J.R.A.S., 1905, p.568.
4. Prof.E.Senart, E.I., VIII, pp.88-89.

That the Ābhīras had no affinity with the Haihayas is proved by the authority of the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira. The author distinguishes them from the Haihayas, as the former were occupying the South[1] and South-Western[2] regions of the country. The Ābhīras' difference from the Kalachuris is further proved by some later records. In the list of Chand Bardāi the two tribes are separately mentioned among the thirty-six Rājpūt races.[3] Therefore the origin of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era by the Kalachuris and their dynastic affinity with the Ābhīras or the Traikūṭakas is not proved.

A reference to the Arjunāyanas[4] in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, among the list of the frontier tribes, who submitted to the Gupta Emperor, led Prof. Fleet [5] to suggest their possible connection with the Kalachuris, as the latter represent themselves in their later records as descendants of Sahasra-Arjuna. But the traditional belief considers the Arjunāyanas to be the descendants of the Pāṇḍava-Arjuna.[6] Moreover Varāhamihira[7] distinguishes them from the Haihayas and places them in the northern region. In the time of Samudragupta, the Arjunāyanas were occupying the Agra-Jaipur area[8] and they were altogether

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1. Bṛihatsaṁhitā, XIV, 11-12.
2. Ibid., XIV, 17-18.
3. C.V.Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol.II,pp.22-23.
4. C.I.I., Vol. III, p.8.
5. Ibid., Vol. III, Introduction, p.10.
6. Kāśikā on Pāṇini, II, 4,66,quoted by Dr.V.S.Agrawala in India As Known to Pāṇini,p.29; Dr. A.S.Altekar, The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, p.32.
7. Bṛihatsaṁhitā, XIV, 25.
8. Dr.A.S.Altekar, The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, p.31.

a different tribe from the Kalachuris.

Similarly, while discussing the origin and original habitat of the Kalachuris, the epithets of 'Māhishmatī-puravarêśvara[1] and 'Kālañjara-puravarādhīśvara,[2] used by the later families of the Kalachuris should also be examined in their proper perspective. As regards the Purāṇic Haihaya dynasty, Māhishmatī became their traditional capital. But the arrival or reoccupation of Māhishmatī by the Kalachuris would definitely mark the advent of the dynasty in the Narmada region. It is not Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara Revarasa[3], a Haihaya feudatory of the Western Chālukyas alone, but the mediaeval poets like Rājaśekhara[4] and Murāri[5] also mention Māhishmatī as the family capital of the Kalachuris. The earliest epigraphic reference to the Kalachuris in connection with the Narmada region is found in the Ābhôṇa plates[6] of Śaṅkaragaṇa of the year 347 or 597 A.D. This is the earliest record of the Kalachuri dynasty. Śaṅkaragaṇa's father Kṛishṇarāja, who flourished about 550-575 A.D., is said to have 'brightened the world with his fame which, like

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1. E.I., Vol.XII, p.269 & 291.
2. E.I., Vol.V, p.249; E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.209 and p.215.
3. E.I., XII, p.269.
4. यन्मेखला भवति मेकल शैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यत्र च चित्र भानुः।
तामेष पाति कृतवीर्यसुतोवतंसा माहिष्मतीं कलचुरेः कुलराजधानीम्।।
बालरामायण, ३, ३५।
5. इयं च कलचुरि कुलनरेन्द्रसाधारणागृमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदि-मण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी। अनर्घराघव, अंक ७, पृ० ४३१।
6. E.I., Vol.IX, pp.296-300.

moonlight attracted the minds of all people, who from his very birth, was devoted to Pusupati and revived the prosperity of his family.[1] Before Kṛishṇarāja, there were born a number of men in the family[2]. Moreover Krishnaraja himself in his coins 'meditates on the feet of his parents'.[3] These facts are enough to prove that Kṛishṇarāja was born in the family of the Kaṭachchuris after some generations of its beginning. The family might have lost its glory in due course and Kṛishṇarāja revived it through his country wide conquests. Whether he ruled from Māhishmatī or not is not clear. We get two copper-plate inscriptions[4] of one Mahārāja Subandhu issued from Māhishmatī belonging to first quarter of the fifth century. A.D. Prof.Mirashi relying on a narrative in the eighth chapter of Daśa-Kumāracharita[5], suggests that the last Vākāṭaka Emperor (Harishêṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī and the Kaṭachchuris conquered the country from these remnants of the Vākāṭaka family.

Kṛishṇarāja, from all available records, appears to

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1. 'सकल जनमनोरया चन्द्रिकायेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरकलंकदोषरहित कुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा एव श्रीकृष्णराजो ।'
2. 'विविध पुरुष रत्न ----- ।'
3. J.N.S.I., p. Vol.III, p.23.
4. Barwāni Plate of the year 167, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.261-63; and Bagh Cave Plate, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.20.
5. Mirashi, Historical Data in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracharita, A.B.O.R.I., Vol.XXVI, 1945, pp.20-31.

be the first historical king of the Kalachuri dynasty, who established himself in the Narmadā region in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. He had a wide territory comprising Rājpūtānā, Koṅkaṇa, Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Narmadā region, is attested by the distribution of his coins.[1] Probably he also conquered Central India including Kālañjara-maṇḍala. This may be concluded from the following reasons. In the records of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa, an early member of the family, named Kṛishṇa is said to have conquered Kālañjara and Dāhala.[2] In his lineage, there were born other rulers, among whom Bijjala was the most powerful and who ascended the throne of Kalyāṇa in A.D. 1156.[3] Bijjala assumed the title of '<u>Kālañjara-puravarādhīśvara</u>'[4], which is known from many records of this family. The reference to any other Kṛishṇa is not noticeable in the records of other branches of the Kalachuris. Secondly, in the Kahla plates[5] of Sôḍhadeva, a scion of the Kalachuri dynasty of Sarayūpāra, there occurs the mention of a personage who by conquering Ayômukha, and

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1. <u>J.N.S.I.</u>, Vol.III, pp.23-24. Seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja have been found at Besnagar (Vidiśā) - D.R.Bhandarkar, <u>Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India</u>, 1913-14, p.208.

2. Inscription from Harihar (Mysore), <u>Epigraphia Carnatica</u>, Vol.XI, Dg.42, quoted by P.B.Desai in <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XXVIII, p.25, fn.1.; <u>Mysore Inscriptions</u>, p.64; and D.C.Ganguly, in <u>The Struggle For Empire</u>, p.179.

3. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.180.

4. Fleet, Inscriptions at Ablur, <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.V, p.249;
   Barnett, Inscriptions of Huli, <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XVIII, pp.209 and 215.

5. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.VII, pp.85-93.

subduing the Krathas, possessed himself of Kālañjara.[1] Ayômukha has been identified by Cunningham[2] with a place, situated 30 miles South-West of Partābgarh in Uttar Pradesh. Prof.Mirashi suggests that 'Krathakaiśika' is an ancient name of Vidarbha.[3] If Prof.Kielhorn is correct in his reading, then the areas lying between Vidarbha and the river Gaṅgā including Kālañjara may have been conquered by that personage, who in all probability was no other but Kṛishṇarāja. The conquest of Vidarbha by this ruler is attested from his coins distributed over that region. Finally Kṛishṇarāja flourished in the middle of the sixth century A.D. At this time, Kālañjara was held by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi king Udayan[4] and his descendants. His son Indrabala and the latter's son Nanna are known from a record[5] discovered at Bhāndak in the Chāndā District. It is most probably from this family that Kṛishṇarāja wrested the region lying between Vidarbha and Kālañjara. The pressure of the Kalachuri power compelled this Pāṇḍava family to move

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1. ` जयोमुख जय कृथाक्रमण सिद्ध कालंजर: स्फुरत्परवरूथिनी जरदरण्य दावानल: `

   E.I., Vol.VII, p.89. Prof.V.V.Mirashi reads the passage as ` जयोमुख जयक्रमाक्रमण सिद्ध कालंजर: । `

2. Cunningham, A.S.I.R., Vol.XI, p.68;
   B.C.Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p.69.

3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.383, fn.2.

4. Cunningham, A.S.I.R., Vol.XXI, Plate IX, L.; and notes supplied by Kielhorn in E.I., Vol.IV, p.257, fn.4.

5. Kielhorn, J.R.A.S., 1905, pp.624-29.

towards Mekala[1] and Southern Kosala[2]. Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī mentions a king of Kālañjara named Bhīmaṭa, who composed five plays of which 'Svapnadaśānana' was considered the best.[3] The Kasia stone inscription[4] of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra mentions two Kalachuri princes bearing the same name[5]. The Kahla plate of Sôḍhadeva ascribes the conquest of Kālañjara to the first historical king of this Kalachuri dynasty of Sarayūpara. As the names like Lakshmaṇarāja, Rājaputra 'Śivarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa' are common to both the records, they evidently belong to one and the same family. Kālañjara appears to be in possession of this family from the very beginning. It is also proved by the mention of Bhīmaṭa, as the lord of Kālañjara, who in all probability should be identified with Bhīmaṭa I, son and successor of Śivarāja I. The later prince of the same name would become a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and therefore would not be a possibility. Kālañjara

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1. Dr.D.C.Sircar, The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, p.92; also Dr.B.C.Chhabra, E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.132 ff.

2. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.208, p.125; also E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.116 ff.
Prof.Mirashi has discussed their date in E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.227 ff.

3. कालंजरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पंच नाटकीम् ।
प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥ Sūktimuktāvalī, p.46.

4. E.I., Vol.XVIII, pp.128-137.

5. Ibid., VV.19 and 27.

was subsequently held by the Pratihāras[1], Rāshṭrakūṭas[2] and lastly the Chandellas.[3] The Chandellas afterwards became known as the lords of Kālañjara and their traditional enmity with the Kalachuris of Tripurī flared up in the time of Lakshmīkarṇa.[4] Thus Kṛishṇarāja from all indirect evidences appears to be the first Kalachuri King who conquered Ḍāhala and Kālañjara and he alone according to the version of the Kahla plates made over the conquered territory including Kālañjara to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja.[5] Lakshmaṇarāja afterwards founded the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra.

The descendants of Kṛishṇarāja, namely his son Śaṅkaragaṇa and the latter's son Buddharāja confined their activities in Gujarāt and Narmadā region. It is proved by their charters issued from their victory camps pitched at Ujjayinī[6], Nirguṇḍipadraka[7] (somewhere in Gujarāt) Vidiśā[8]

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1. The Barah plate of the Pratihāra Bhojadeva I dated A.D.836 E.I., Vol.XIX, p.18.

2. The Deoli Plates of Kṛishṇa III, S.E.862, E.I., Vol.V, p.194. The Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III dated A.D. 959, E.I., Vol.IV, p.284.

3. The Khajurāhô Inscription of Dhaṅga dated A.D.953-54, E.I., Vol.I, pp.127-28.

4. Bilhaṇa, Vikramāṅkadevacharita, XVIII, 93.

5. The passage in the Kahla plates runs 'कलचुरितिलकः स(श)त्रूनि त्वाराज्य ददौ लघुभ्रातुः ।'

This does not necessarily mean that he made over whole of the Kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, as it was impossible for him to rule the extensive Kaṭachchuri Empire from a remote area like Sarayūpāra.

6. Ābhôṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa of the year (Kalachuri)347, E.I., Vol.IX, pp.296-300.

7. Saṅkhêḍā plate of Śaṅkaragaṇa, E.I., Vol.II, pp.21-24.

8. Vaḍnêr plates of Buddharāja of the year (Kalachuri) 360, E.I., Vol.XII, pp.30-36.

and Ānandapura[1] (in Kaira district, Gujarāt). The Kaṭachchuri Empire was ruled over with the help of various feudatories,[2] who are reported from Gujarāt[3], Vidarbha[4] and Narmadā region.[5] including eastern Mālwā.

Another family of the Kaṭachchuris almost living simultaneously in Gujarāt has also been reported by the Māṇikaṇī plate of Taralasvāmin.[6] His father Mahārāja Nanna is called 'Kaṭachchuri-Kula-Veśmapradīpa' i.e.'the light of the house that was the family of the Kaṭachchuris.' The date of the charter is Saṁvat 346, which, if referred to the Kalachuri Era, would correspond to A.D. 593-4. The Saṅkhêḍā plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa almost of the same period prove against the rule of this family over that region. As the record itself is of doubtful nature, the exact relationship between these two families can not be ascertained.

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1. Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja of the year (Kalachuri) 361, E.I., Vol.VI, pp.294-300.

2. The Ābhôṇa plates make a reference to various feudatories, ll 16-17, E.I., Vol.IX, p.297.

3. The Kairā plates of the Gurjara Dadda II of the year (Kalachuri) 380 refer to Sāmanta Dadda, who most probably accompanied his overlord, Kṛishṇarāja in latter's expedition to the Vindhyas, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.60.

4. The Nāgardhan plates of Svāmiraja of the year (Kalachuri) 322 mention the donor's overlord. Prof.Mirashi thinks the unnamed suzerain to be Kṛishṇarāja, E.I., Vol.XXVIII, p.6. The grant was announced by the feudatory chief while staying at Prayāga, which lay near the country of Ayômukha, E.I., Vol.XXVIII, p.9.

5. G.Jouveau Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p.82.

6. A.S.Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol.I, pp.4-6.
Prof.V.V.Mirashi thinks the charter to be spurious, A.B.O.R.I., XXVII, p.51;
Dr.D.C.Sircar, however, considers it genuine, The Classical Age, p.197, f.n.1.

The Kaṭchchuri family of Krishṇarāja recorded its annals till the time of the third descendant, Buddharāja whose last known date is A.D. 609-10. The unfortunate prince had to suffer a reverse at the hands of the Chālukya Maṅgalêśa before 602 A.D. which is known from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription.[1] This victory over Kaṭachchuris is further echoed in the Aihoḷe Inscription[2] of Pulakeśin II. The rising power of the Chālukyas under Pulakeśin II as well as the emergence of the Maitrakas in the region became responsible for the withdrawal of the Kaṭachchuris from the Narmadā Valley and Mālwā and they had to remain in obscurity nearly for two centuries.

Dr.Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly has, however, put forth his theory[3] that Buddharāja recovered the loss sustained at the hands of Maṅgalêśa and directed his arms against northern neighbour, the Maukharis. In the battle, Grahavarman lost his life, and Rājyaśrī fell a prisoner and the kingdom of Kānyakubja lay prostrate before him. Then Rājyavardhan marched against him shortly before 606 A.D. and defeated him. Here he identifies Buddharāja with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāṇa. Prof.Mirashi has pointed out that there are several difficulties in accepting this view.[4] Dr.Ganguly has further tried to revive his theory of proving the continuance of this Kaṭachchuri kingdom in Mālwā, Gujarāt and North Deccan lying between the Chālukyas of Bādāmī and the Maukharis of Kanauj.

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1. Fleet, I.A., Vol.XIX, pp.17-18.
2. E.I., Vol.VI, p.5.
3. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIX, 1933, pp.399-412.
4. C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, pp.XLIX-L.

The basis of his renewed force is the Chhoṭi Deori inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa, which according to him belongs to Śaṅkaragaṇa, the father of Buddharāja.[1] But the evidence hardly substantiates his position. The Aihoḷe inscription states in unmistakable terms that the countries of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara were ruled over by some local feudatory dynasties[2] other than the Kaṭachchuris, as the latter were very well known to the writer of the inscription. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang also informs about new ruling families for the Western Mālwā[3], Gurjara[4], Ujjain[5], and Maheśvarapura[6]. Similarly there is no likelihood of the Kaṭachchuris ruling from Māhishmatī, as Prof.Mirashi[7] has suggested.

After Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja there is no mention of the further activities of the Kalachuris. The only possibility is that they lost their paramount status and their fate was linked with the rise and fall of the Chālukyas. Some of their branches accepted the feudatory status and one of their off shoots ruled in South as the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa.[8] With the

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1. I.H.Q., XXXII, 1956, pp.431-33.
2. प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाटमालव गुर्जरा:।
   दण्डोपनतसामन्त चयचिार्या इवाभवन् ॥
   E.I., VI, p.6.
3. Watters, II, p.242; Beal, II, p.261; Life, p.148.
4. Ibid., II, p.249; Ibid., II, p.270.
5. Ibid., II, p.250; Ibid., II, p.271.
6. Ibid., II, p.251; Ibid., II, p.271.
7. C.I.I., IV., Introduction, p. L
8. D.C.Ganguly, The Struggle for Empire, pp.179-182.

rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the eighth century A.D., we have the signs of political upsurge in Central India and Ḍāhala-maṇḍala. It has already been suggested that the Kaṭachchuri family of Kṛishṇarāja had conquered Ḍāhala-maṇḍala along with other regions in Central India. Before them the Parivrājakas held Ḍāhala or Ḍabhālā-rājya which comprised Tripurī-vishaya, is evidenced by the Betul plates of Saṁkshobha of the Gupta year 199 = (A.D. 518-19)[1]. It may be safely presumed that the Kaṭachchuris conquered this region from the Privrājakas. But the region could not be held permanently by them or any other power is attested by the archaeological researches, which reveal that Tripurī passed through a temporary phase of decline under the foreign invaders and remained into oblivion.till its final growth into a capital of the Kalachuri Dynasty.[2]

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1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.287.

2. Dr.M.G.Dikshit, Tripurī-1952, p.11, f.n.1.
Dr.Dikshit suggests that the foreign invaders may be like the Hūṇas. This view may be modified in the light that the Hūṇas coming from Kauśāmbī passed through Eran and Vidiśā and finally went to Western Mālwā. As Tripurī remained out of the way the Hūṇas did not reach there. It were some indigeneous tribes, who are represented there by the temporary phase of decline. Moreover the Ḍabhālā-rājya was held by Saṁkshobha till 528-29, as is proved by the Khoh Copper-plate Inscription, C.I.I., Vol.III, pp.112-16. Eran Stone Boar Inscription of Tōramāṇa, C.I.I., Vol.III, pp.158-161, and Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula, C.I.I., Vol.III, pp.161-64, also corroborate the same view.

But the next Kalachuri king, who lifted the veil in the dark annals of the Kalachuris by coming over the country of Ḍāhala or Chedi and starting the powerful branch of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, is again a matter of supposition. The dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Chedi are silent over the matter. Jayānaka's Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya, a twelfth century A.D. work records a tradition that there ruled some Kalachuri kings at Kālīvana,[1] among them was a king named Sāhasika.[2] According to commentator Jônarāja, this Sāhasika after dedicating his royal fortune to his preceptor Vāmadeva conquered Tripurī and settled there.[3] But the Kalachuris of Chedi do not mention any Sahasika in their records. Dr.D.C.Sircar[4], thinks him to be a Gāṅgêyadêva Vikramāditya,[5] a later king of the family. The word, Sāhasāṅka or Sahasika may have been a synonym of Vikramāditya. Sāhasika offered his former kingdom in 'gurudakshiṇā' to his preceptor Vāmadeva and set out on 'digvijaya!

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1. तदीयमेवाभरणायमानं क्रमागतं नाम समुद्वहन्तः।
आसन् प्रवृत्ते कलिवर्त्म काले कालीवने कैचन भूमिपालाः॥
— PV., V.86, p.219.

2. तेषामभूत् साहसिकाभिधानः प्रधानभावं प्रधनाध्वगानाम्।
— PV., V.87, p.220.

3. ---- माणवयाः स साहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्त्वासावीं भूमिं जेतुं प्रस्थितवान्॥
PV., p.220.

4. Dr.D.C.Sircar, Kalachuri Sāhasika of Tripurī, J.U.P.H.S., Vol.XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp.228-232.

5. Jabalpur Plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.303.

The latter, according to Dr.Sircar should be identified with Vāmaśambhu or Vāmadeva,[1] a Śaiva ascetic, who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and was a contemporary of Lakshmīkarṇa, the son and successor of Gāṅgêyadêva. Curiously enough in the inscriptions of Karna, and his descendants, namely Yaśaḥkarṇa,[3] Nṛasiṁhadeva,[4] Jayasiṁhadeva,[5] Vijayasiṁhadeva[6] and also the Chandella Trailokyavarman,[7] from A.D. 1042 onwards there occurs a passage - '<u>Parama-bhattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramêśvara-Parama-Māhêśvara Śrī Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta</u>.'

This Vāmadeva according to Dr.Sircar should be the same Śaiva-saint Vāmaśambhu, who is referred to in the Malakāpuram stone inscription of S.E.1183 of the time of Kākatiya Rudradeva (i.e. Rudrāmbā 1158-96 A.D.)[8] Prof.Mirashi[9] doubts

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1. Dr.Sircar, Vāmadeva, the Śaiva saint, <u>I.H.Q.</u>,Vol.XIV,1938, pp.96-100.

2. Karṇa, Banaras plates of the year 793, <u>E.I.</u>,Vol.II,p.309. Goharwā plates, <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XI, p.144.

3. Yaśaḥkarṇa, Khairhā plates of the year 823, <u>E.I.</u>,Vol.XII,p.213.

4. Narasiṁhadêva, Lāl Pahād rock Inscription of the year 909, <u>C.I.I.</u>,Vol.IV,p.322.

5. Jayasiṁhadêva, Jabalpur plates of the year 918, <u>E.I.</u>,Vol.XXI,p.95; Rewa plate of the year 926, <u>C.I.I.</u>,Vol.IV,p.342.

6. Vijayasiṁhadeva, Rewa plate of V.S.1253,<u>C.I.I.</u>,Vol.IV,pp.360-61. Rewa Stone Inscription of the year 96X,<u>C.I.I.</u>Vol.IV,p.366.

7. Chandella Trailokyavarman, Dhureṭī plates of the year 963, <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XXV, pp.1 ff.

8. <u>J.A.H.R.S.</u>, Vol.IV, pp.152-157.

9. <u>J.M.P.I.P.</u>, Vol.I, 1959, p.22.

the historicity of the story of Sāhasika which in his opinion can hardly refer to the age of Gāṅgêyadêva, as the incidents contained there in refer to the beginning of the Kalachuri dynasty at Tripurī and the poet perhaps repeats the tradition that the Kalachuris before establishing themselves at Tripurī were ruling from Kālīvana or Kālañjara. The Professor, on the other hand, suggests that it was the Kalachuri prince Vāmaraja, identified with the elder brother of Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in the Kahla plates of Sôḍhadeva, who in the last quarter of seventh century A.D. over-ran Central India and established himself at Kālañjara. Afterwards, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja. Then he transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, and since his time the Kalachuris became known as the lords of Chedi.[1] Dr.Mirashi bases his theory on the Saugor Artillery Mess Garden inscription[2] of Śaṅkaragaṇa, who meditates on the feet of some royal personage, whom the scholar reads 'Vāmarāja' and subsequently identifies the latter with the Vāmadêva of the later Kalachuri records, already referred to.

As regards Dr.Sircar's view, the royal prerogatives used for a Śaiva ascetic appear somewhat unusual. Similarly Prof.Mirashi's reading of Vāmaraja has been doubted by other scholars. Rai Bahadur Hiralal previously read the word

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.167-68.

2. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.84, p.49.
Mirashi, E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.163-70.

'Vāgharaja'.[1] Dr.D.C.Sircar and Mr.N.Lakshminarayan Rao suggest 'Vāvarāja'[2] and 'Vāparāja' or 'Vô[pa]rāja'[3], respectively. Thus the theories of Dr.Sircar and Prof.Mirashi do not bring the problem nearer solution.

Lastly, looking at the dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala themselves, Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Saugor Artillery Mess Garden[4] and Chhoṭi Deori[5] inscriptions is supposed to be the earliest ruler of the dynasty. He meditated on the feet of his predecessor or overlord, whose exact identification is not certain. His reference is likewise incomplete and the paucity of information go against the consideration of him as the founder of this dynasty. Although both these records are ascribed to one and the same person, they do not specify any period, as they are undated. The earliest dated epigraph bearing the Kalachuri year 593= A.D. 841-42, is the Kāritalāi stone inscription[6] of Lakshmaṇarāja. This is the time when the Rāshṭrakūṭas are said to have conquered Mālwā and Ḍāhala regions. The Sañjan copper-plates[7] of Amôghavarsha of the year 871 A.D. inform that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III (A.D.794-814) conquered Kôśala, Kaliṅga, Veṅgi,

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1. Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.84, p.49.
2. E.I., Vol.XXX, p.46.
3. Ibid., Vol.XXX, p.46, fn.2.
4. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.163-70.
5. Ibid., Vol.XXVII, pp.170-72.
6. Ibid., Vol.XXIII, pp.255 ff.
7. Ibid., Vol.XVIII, pp.235.ff.

Ḍāhala, Oḍraka and Mālava and made his servants enjoy them.[1] For Mālava, it has been suggested that Upendra-Krishṇarāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty was one of such servants, appointed there by Govinda III.[2] In case of Ḍāhala, Lakshmaṇarāja of the Kāritalāi Fragmentary inscription or his predecessor appears to be another vassal of Govinda III whom the latter entrusted the task of governing the territory of Ḍāhala. Lakshmaṇarāja ruled in this capacity in the second quarter of the ninth century A.D.

The next ruler of this dynasty in all probability was Kokkalla I, who ruled over Ḍāhala in the second half of the ninth century A.D. His exact relationship with Lakshmaṇarāja is not mentioned. Prof.Mirashi thinks him to be the son of Lakshmaṇarāja.[3] The dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Chedi as well as Ratanpur regard this prince as the founder of the dynasty. The epigraphs of some of his later descendants belonging to the eleventh century A.D. mention some notable achievements to his credit. The Bilhāri inscription[4] states that having conquered the whole earth he set up two unprecedented columns of his fame in the South that well-known Krishṇarāja, and in the north, Bhôjadêva, a store of fortune.[5]

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1. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.245.
2. Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p.18.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.LXXII
4. E.I., Vol.I, pp.251-270.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, Verse 17, p.256.

Similarly the Banaras plates of Karṇa[1] state that he protected Bhôja, Vallabha, Śrī Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa and Śaṅkaragaṇa.[2] His marriage with the Chandella princess Naṭṭādêvī is also referred to in the same grant.[3] The Chandella princess was probably the daugher of Jayaśakti.[4]

Prof.Kielhorn identifies these contemporaries of Kokkalla with the Rāshṭrakūta Kṛishṇa II (A.D.878-915) also bearing the name Krishṇa-Vallabha, the Pratihāra Bhôja I (A.D. 836-892), the Chandella Harsha and his own son Śaṅkaragaṇa.[5] The Cambay and Sangli grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda IV inform that Krishṇa II was the son-in-law of Kokkalla I[6] and therefore he was a natural ally of the Chedi prince. Another friend of Kokkalla I was the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhôja I of Kanauj. Some scholars identify him with his grandson, Bhôja II.[7] But in this case, Prof.Kielhorn's identification is correct.

For Harsha, the arguments put forth by Dr.D.C.Ganguly go in favour of his identification with the Guhila Harsharāja.[8]

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1. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.297-310.
2. Ibid., Vol.II, Verse 7, p.306.
3. E.I., Vol.II, Verse 8, 0.306.
4. Ganguly, The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p.82.
5. E.I., Vol.II, pp.300-301.
6. Cambay plate, dated in the Ś.E.852, E.I., Vol.VII, V.14, p.38; Sangli plates, I.A., Vol.XII, pp.247 ff.; Altekar, The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, p.90.
7. Banerji, R.D., The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments, p.4. Tripathi, R.S., History of Kanauj, pp.255-56. Altekar, A.S., The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, p.101.
8. I.H.Q., Vol.XIII, pp.485-86.

Similarly Dr.R.C.Majumdar's identification[1] of Śaṅkaragaṇa with the Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa I, father of Guṇāmbodhidêva and a scion of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra is to be accepted.

Regarding other achievements of Kokkalla I, the Amodā plates[2] of the Pṛithvīdêva I of the Ratanpur Branch dated in K.E. 831 = A.D. 1079 state that Kokkalla I "raided the treasuries of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turushkas and Raghu families".[3]

Believing the historicity of these passages, Dr.D.C. Ganguly regards Kokkalla I as one of the greatest kings of India in the ninth century A.D., to whose arms submitted the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Pratihāras, the Pālas, the Chāhamānas, the Guhilas, the Śilāhāras and the Arabs of Sindh.[4] This view has been challenged by Dr.R.C.Majumdar[5] on the ground of the uncertainty of the period of Kokkalla's activities. Moreover the ninth-tenth century A.D. records do not refer to the greatness of the Kalachuri power. The dynastic records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī and Ratanpur describing the achievements of Kokkalla I belong to the 11th century A.D., when the Kala-

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1. Majumdar, R.C., The Gurjara Pratiharas, Journal of the Deptt of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol.X, p.53 fn.1.
2. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75-81.
3. E.I., Vol.XIX, Verse 5, p.78.
4. I.H.Q., Vol.XIII, p.487.
5. Majumdar, The Kalachuri King Kokkalla I, Proceedings of the Twelfth session of the Indian History Congress, Vol.XII, 1949, pp.123-26.

churis had already attained prominence in the history of Northern India. In his opinion Kokkalla I at best was a dashing military chief of some renown who fished in troubled water and was ready to offer military aid to any big power whose alliance was likely to advance his interests.'[1] The truth however is that Kokkalla I laid the foundation of the Kalachuri empire and made the definite beginnings of the dynasty, which continued to rule over Chedi or Ḍāhala-region for more than three hundred years after him.

Lastly the records of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala mention that Kokkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī, while others were made the lords of maṇḍalas in the neighbourhood. In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kaliṅgarāja, who founded another branch of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala or Ratanpur.[2]

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1. Ibid., p.126.

2. Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdêva of K.E. 831- A.D. 1079, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.78-79, VV.6-7.

   Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I of K.E. 866 - A.D. 1114, E.I., Vol.I, pp.34-35, VV.5-7.

# CHAPTER III

## POLITICAL HISTORY: EARLY RULERS OF THE DYNASTY

### KALIṄGARĀJA

The Kalachuris of Ratanpur in their earlier records state that the Chedi King Kokkala or Kokalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and the latter in his turn, made his younger brothers, the lords of the maṇḍalas.[1] In the family of one of these younger brothers, was born Kaliṅgarāja, who 'in order to augment his unrestrained valour and treasure, left the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakshiṇa Kosala.'[2] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of the year(K.E) 866, observes that 'since Tuṁmāṇa had been made a royal residence by his ancestors,(he) therefore residing there increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.'[3] The passage, therefore, suggests that the Kalachuri rulers of the Chedi branch originally included the Tuṁmāṇa tract in their empire and the area formed a base for their eastern expeditions.

It is said of Kokalla's successor Prasiddhadhavala

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1. Amodā Plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, E.I., Vol.XIX,p.78; and Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I, E.I. Vol.I,p.34.

2. Ratanpur Stone-Inscription of K.E. 866, with Prof.Mirashi's reading, Festschrift Prof. P.V.Kane,p.292.

3. E.I., Vol. I, pp.34-35.

Mugdhatuṅga that 'he conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and wrested the country of Pālī from the lord of Kosala'.[1] By 'Kosala' here evidently Dakshiṇa Kosala is implied. The country of Pālī, according to Prof. Mirashi,[2] should be identified with the territory round village 'Pālī in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh. The village contains an old tank and one of the finest temples of Śiva belonging to early mediaeval times. It is 16 miles south-west of Tuṁmāṇa, the royal residence of Kaliṅgarāja's ancestors. The lord of Kosala similarly has been suggested some chief of the Bāṇa dynasty. But those who think Pālī to have been situated on the sea-coast identify it with a place named 'Pāliā'[3] in the Bālāsore district of Orissa.

After Mugdhatuṅga, his younger son, Yuvarājadeva I is said to have raided the countries of Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kashmir and Kaliṅga.[4] Again Lakshmaṇarāja, the son and successor of Yuvarājadeva I, also fought with the lord of Kosala (i.e. Dakshiṇa Kosala) and defeated him.[5] From the prince of Oḍra or Orissa, he obtained an image of the Nāga Kāliya worked with jewels and gold and offered it to the god Sômêśvara of Sômanātha whom he worshipped after bathing in the sea near Kāṭhiāwār.[6]

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1. Bilhāri Inscription, E.I., Vol.I, p.256.
2. Mirashi, C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p. LXXVII.
3. Pt.Lochan Prasad Pandeya is inclined to identify the place with 'Pāliā' in Bālāsore district of Orissa, where some ancient monuments also exist.
4. E.I., Vol.I, p.256.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, p.260.
6. Ibid., Vol.I, p.260.

Dr.Hiralal suggests that Lakshmaṇarāja placed one of his sons in charge of this tract of country conquered from the Gurjaras to the north of the Gaṇḍakī, from whom the later Kalachuris of Kosala were descended.[1] But after some time the authority of the Kalachuris of Tripurī over Tummāṇa country became weak and it was Kaliṅgarāja, the founder of the Kalachuri branch of Ratanpur, who reconquered it.[2]

We do not possess any record of Kaliṅgarāja. The earliest reference to him is found in the Amodā plates of his great grandson, Pṛithvīdeva I, which are dated in the year(K.E.) 831. The record states that 'in the family of one of the younger sons of Kokkala was born Kaliṅgarāja.'[3] The same information is supplied by the Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladeva I and this shows that Kaliṅgarāja was born a few generations after Kokkala I.

A later record, namely the Kharod Inscription[4] of Ratnadeva III of the year (K.E.) 933, however, describes Kaliṅganṛipati as the youngest son of Kokalla himself. Dr.N.P. Chakravarti relying on this version identifies Kokalla of the Amodā plates with Kokalla II, who ruled in the early eleventh century A.D.[5] He is inclined to to this belief because of the

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1. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.IX, p.291.
2. The passage in the Ratanpur Inscription of the year (K.E.866) V.6 - विक्रायान्वय कार्णी दक्षिण कोशलो जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनाज्जित:, is significant.
3. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
4. Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159-65.
5. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.159.

definite statement made of Kokalla, who 'took treasures of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī kings and also those born of the Turushka and Raghu families.'[1] If the reference to Turushkas or any Muslim power is historically correct, in that case it was not possible for Kokalla I to fight with any Arab horde as he belonged to a period prior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. This suggestion of Dr.Chakravarti in its acceptance would further complicate the problem. In the records[2] of his successors, Kokalla II has been praised in very vague terms. Dr. Hiralal remarks that during the period of Yuvarajadeva II and his son Kokalla II, the Kalachuri prestige went very low. It was for his grandson Gāṅgêyadêva to restore the glory of his dynasty.[3] The silence of the writers of the royal prasastis clearly shows that his reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalachuri dynasty and therefore the various conquests should not be ascribed to Kokalla II, but to Kokalla I, the founder of the Chedi branch. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the said record was composed about two centuries later than the time of Kokalla I. Moreover, as Mr.Amalananda Ghosh suggests, ' it was an age when Muhammadan invasions were looming large in the eyes of the people, and their defeat, supposed or real by a native prince was naturally considered to be a feat of the highest credit.'[4]

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.78.

2. The Jabalpur Copper plate of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, E.I., Vol.II, p.3; and Khairahā plates, E.I., Vol. XII, p.211.

3. A.B.O.R.I., Vol IX, p.291.

4. A.Ghosh's paper entitled ' History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala', published in D.R.Bhandarkar Volume, p.260.

Therefore the reference to the defeat of the Turushkas at the hands of Kokalla I is not of much historical significance. Similarly the relation of Kaliṅganṛipati as the youngest son of Kokalladeva, as described in the Kharod inscription is nothing but an epigraphic discrepancy. Examples of oversight are easily noticeable in the records of the dynasty.[1]

Kaliṅgarāja, after establishing himself in the Tuṁmāṇa tract, became the ruler of Vaṅkô-Tuṁmāṇa[2]. The name of the holy Vaṅkêśa was also associated with the Tuṁmāṇa country and it shows that the temple of Vaṅkêśvara occupied an important position in that country. The Kharod inscription also says that Kaliṅgarāja became the lord of Tuṁmāṇa through the worship of Vaṅkêśvara.[3] As there is no certainty about the extent of his territories, we cannot say that he ruled over the entire area of Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I states that after acquiring the janapada of Dakshiṇa Kosala, Kaliṅgarāja fixed his capital at Tuṁmāṇa.[4] The early rulers of Ratanpur are designated as the rulers of Tuṁmāṇa.[5] It is from the time of Pṛithvīdeva I that they were known as the 'lords of whole Kosala'.[6]

No specific mention has been made of the various

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1. Peṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalladêva omit the names of Kamalarāja and Jājalladeva II, E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.4.
2. 'Vaṅkô-Tuṁmāṇa bhūbhujaḥ', I.H.Q., Vol.IV, pp.31 ff.
3. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.163.
4. Ibid., Vol.I, p.34.
5. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.163.
6. Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.80.

achievements of this ruler in his dynastic records. The only conquest which he made, had been the acquisition of Tummana, where he founded his own dynasty. Padmagupta, the writer of the well-known Sanskrit work 'Navasāhasāṅkacharita' records the victory of Sindhurāja, the Paramāra king of Dhārā (circa 995-1015 A.D.) over the king of Kosala,[1] which evidently meant Dakshina Kosala. On the basis of this statement, it has been suggested that during the reign of Kaliṅgarāja, the country of Dakshiṇa Kosala was invaded by Sindhurāja and the vanquished chief of Kosala was Kaliṅgarāja.[2] Prof.Mirashi further interpreting the story of 'Navasāhasāṅkacharita' suggests that Sindhurāja in order to help the Naga ruler of Chakrakôṭya led a second expedition against Vajjūka of Kômômaṇḍala, whom he thinks an ally of Kaliṅgarāja.[3] But Dr.Ganguly has proved that the supposed expedition was aimed against the Māna King of Vajra and not any other prince of Kosala country.[4]

In the beginning, the Kalachuris of Tuṁmāṇa ruled as the maṇḍalêśvaras of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi. Kaliṅgarāja

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1. उदितेन वैरितिमिरद्रुहाभितस्त्वनाथ विक्रम मयूख मालिना ।
निहितास्त्वया महति शोकसागरे जगतीन्द्र कोसलपतेः पुरन्ध्रयः ।।

सर्ग १०, श्लोक १८, पृष्ठ १६१, Fn,11.

2. Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p.78.

3. Mirashi, Historical Data in Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅ-Kacharita, I.A., Vol.LXII, pp.101 -107.

4. Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp.75-76.

and his descendants at least upto the time of Pṛithvīdeva I were ruling over Tuṁmāṇa country in this capacity.

Kamalarāja, the next ruler of Tuṁmāṇa was a contemporary of Gāṅgêyadêva Vikramāditya.[1] The latter is said to have reigned from circa 1015 to 1041 A.D.[2] On the basis of this fact, we may assign the reign of Kaliṅgarāja to a period between circa 990 and 1015 A.D.

## KAMALARĀJA

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja. The Amodā plates of his grandson Pṛithvīdeva I, state that he 'churned the Utkalanṛipa, and contributed prosperity to the treasury of Gāṅgêyadêva.'[3] Dr.Hiralal thinks that the passage means that Kamalarāja tried to equal Gāṅgêyadêva in prosperity.[4] Dr.N.P. Chakravarti has pointed out that the expression should mean that Kamalarāja made over to Gāṅgêya the goddess of wealth (arising out of the churned enemy[5]). This, therefore, establishes that Kamalarāja had defeated a King of Utkala, as the subordinate of Gāṅgêyadêva and made over the booty to his overlord.

The defeat of the ruler of Utkala has also been corroborated by the Goharwā plates[6] of Karṇa, in which Gāṅgêya is credited to have imprisoned the King of Kīra and defeated the rulers of Aṅga,

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p. LXXXIX-XcII.
3. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
4. क्षीणोदेपु (मु) त्कलनृपं परिमथ्य वीरो गांगेय देवविभवे स (श) मदाच्चिक्ष्यं यः।
5. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.161.
6. Ibid., Vol.XI, p.143, V.17.

Kuntala and Utkala.

The identification of this Utkala King is, however, difficult. Dr.N.P.Chakravarti[1], thinks that the defeated Utkala King was probably Kāmārṇava, the father of Vajrahasta. But no King of the Gaṅga dynasty prior to Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga is known to have ruled over Utkala. In his Vizagapattam grant[2] (A.D.1118-19) Anantavarman is described, having been decorated with the entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala. In the Rāmacharita[3] of Saṅdhyā-Karanandin, it is said that Rāmapāla ( c.1084-1126 A.D.) was helped by Jayasiṁha, the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, who defeated Utkalêśa Karṇakesarin. It shows that in the eleventh centry A.D., Utkala was ruled over by a dynasty other than the Eastern Gaṅgas. This dynasty might have been connected with Unmattakesarin, a late Bhauma King referred to in the Dhenkanal grant[4], or with Uddyôta-Kesarin[5], one of the last Sômavaṁśī rulers of Kosala.

The reference to Kosala country is found in some of the Chola inscriptions. The Tirumalai inscription[6] of Rājendra Chola I, dated in the twelfth year of his reign ( i.e. 1023 A.D.) mentions among his conquered territories, the country of Kośalainādu, which lay between Oḍḍavishaya and T-aṇḍabhutti, and where Brāhmaṇas assembled! Since these conquests are not mentioned in the earlier

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1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.161, f.n.8.
2. I.A. , Vol.XVIII(1889), p.169.
3. ii,5.
4. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, p.419.
5. E.I., Vol. XIII, p.166 ff.
6. E.I., Vol.IX,pp.229-33.

Nandigunda inscription[1] of 1021 A.D., Mr.Amalananda Ghosh[2] rightly suggests that the northern campaigns of the Chola King took place between 1021 and 1023 A.D., when most probably Kamalarāja was the ruler of Tummāṇa. The Maṇimaṅgalam inscription[3] of the Chola King Rājādhirāja of 1046 A.D. also includes the ruler of Kausalar or Kosala, among many other kings who paid tribute to the Chola King and the latter'gladly gave it away to those versed in the four Vedas'. But the reference is so vague that it cannot be taken seriously. Similarly the Shikarpur inscription[4] of the Western Chālukya King Sômêśvara of 1068 A.D., refers to the tribute given by the King of Kosala along with the rulers of other countries.

The Kosala contemporaries of Rājādhirāja and Sômeśvara, according to Mr.Ghosh[5], were Kamalarāja or his son Ratnadeva I. But it is still uncertain whether the early rulers of the Ratanpur house were known as Kings of Kosala. In the Kharod inscription, Kamalarāja is called ' the Lord of Tummāṇa'[6]. It is most likely that atleast in the times of the former three rulers of this dynasty some part of the Southern Kosala was under the possession of another dynasty. It is Pṛithvīdeva I who for the first time is known to have assumed the title of the 'Lord of whole Kosala'[7]. Had the former rulers been in possession of whole

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1. Ep.Carn., Vol.III, N.134.
2. Ghosh, DRBV, p.264.
3. S.I.I., Vol.III, p.51.
4. Ep.Carn., Vol.VII, Sk.No.136.
5. Ghosh, DRBV, p.264-65.
6. 'तुम्माणाधिपतिः सुतोऽस्यकलमः'।।
7. 'सकलकोसलाधिपति'।

of the Kosala country, there would have been no necessity to give this epithet to a descendant in the fourth generation of the dynasty. Besides this, the Ratanpur inscription[1] of Jājalladeva I, includes (Dakshiṇa)-Kosala among the maṇḍalas, whence either annual tribute was paid or presents were given to the King. This clearly shows that Kosala had its own independent position even upto the beginning of the 12th century A.D.and the Chola Emperor defeated the contemporary ruler of eastern Kosala.

We have already seen that Kamalarāja was a younger contemporary of Gāṅgêyadeva Vikramāditya. Gāṅgêyadêva was ruling in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. His death, according to Fleet's calculations, occurred on the 22nd January, 1041 A.D.2

The reign of Kamalarāja, therefore, may be assigned to a period between 1015 and 1040 A.D.

## RATNARĀJA

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja[3]. In the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I, he is called both'Ratnêśa and Ratnêśvara.[4]'

Ratnarāja is said to have decorated Tuṁmāṇa with the tem-

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.36.
2. Banerji, HTTM, p.17
   Benares plates of Karṇa, which mention the Śrāddha of his father, afford a clue to this date.
3. Amodā plates (K.E.831). E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79, V.10.
4. E.I., Vol.I, p.35, VV.10-11.

ples of the holy Vaṅkêśa and of Ratnêśvara (latter probably built by himself), and also with garden, mango-grove and palatial dwellings.[1] He also built the extensive and glorious city of Ratnapura[2], which he turned into a prosperous city with the help of a Śrêshṭhin. In its riches, Ratnapurabecame like the city of Kubera and looked like heaven, since it was decorated with many temples.. The new city, which was situated at a distance of 45 miles from Tuṁmāṇa, the old capital of the Kalachuris, afterwards became the headquarters of the Ratanpur Kingdom. It became so important later-on that people thought it to have existed throughout the four cosmic periods of the world, and have changed its name at the end of each period. In the Kali or the fourth age, it is called Ratanpur[3]. Not only Ratnaraja, but his descendants also added to its beauty by various accretions in Ratnapura.

The other notable event of the reign of this prince appears to have been his marriage with Nonallā[4]. She was the daughter of Vajuvarman or Vajjūka, the prince of Kômô-maṇḍala. Kômô-

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1. श्री वंकेश सुरालय प्रभृतयो रत्नेश्वराद्यास्तथा यत्रोद्यानमसंख्यपुष्प सुफलं चारूच्चमाम्रं वनम्। रत्नेशेन स सौध सद्मनिचितश्चारु श्रिया भूषित-स्तुंमाण: समकारिलोचन सुत: संवीक्ष्यमाणो जनै: ।।

2. एतद्विपुलं धनेश्वरपुर प्रख्यं महेशान्वितं नाना वर्ण्णविचित्ररत्ननिचितं रत्नालयाभं यत: ।
नानादेवकुलैश्च भूषितमिति स्वर्गाभिमानक्षयतेश्रीमद्रत्नपुरं दिशिश्रुतयशो रत्नेश्वरो यद्व्यधात् ।। ११ ।।
व्यधापयन्मां भुवि रत्नराज: श्रेष्ठी यशश्चेदधितिष्ठतिस्म वक्तीयदो रत्नपुरं ~~दिशिश्रुतयशो रत्नेश्वरो यद्व्यधात्~~ ।समन्तान्मत्तोऽनयोर्यातु यशस्त्रि लोकम् ।।१२।

3. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.25. The earlier names according to Bilaspur District Gazetteer were - Maṇipura, Mānikapura and Hīrāpura.

4. Amoda plates, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79, V.11.

maṇḍala has been indentified with the Peṇḍrā Zamindāri in Bilaspur district, in which their still lies a village named Kômô.[1] The name Vajjūka[2] has led some scholars to believe that he was a powerful non-Āryan chief.[3] These scholars think that the Tummāna region of Bilaspur is still largely inhabited by aboriginal tribes and it is likely that Ratnarāja married the daughter of a local chief. But the writer of the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, gives the name of the prince of Kômô-maṇḍala as Vajuvarman[4]. It is an old custom in India that the Kshatriva princes had the appelation of '<u>varman</u>' to their names. Yama quoted by Aparārka says that ' the names of Brāhmaṇas should have the addition of '<u>Śarmā</u>' or '<u>Dêva</u>', of Kshatriyas '<u>Varmā</u>' or '<u>trātā</u>', of Vaiśyas '<u>bhūti</u>' or '<u>datta</u>', and of Śūdras '<u>dāsa</u>'[5]. Vishṇu Purāṇa also gives similar rules.[6] Moreover, the Brāhmaṇa names

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1. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XIX, p.77.
2. Ratanpur inscription, <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.I, p.35.
3. Ray, <u>DHNI</u>, p.804, f.n.4.
   Hiralal, E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.77.
4. नोन्नलाख्या प्रिया तस्य सू (शू) द्रस्येव हि सू (शू) द्रता ।
   कोमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वज्जुवर्म्मणः ॥ १२ ॥
   - <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol.XIX, pp.75 ff.
5. यमः । शर्मादिवश्चविप्रस्य वर्मात्राता च भूभुजः ।
   भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यश्च दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥
   <u>Aparārka</u>, p.27.
6. शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रसंश्रयम् ।
   गुप्त दासाह्वयं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्य शूद्रयोः ।
   ३, १०, ६ ।
   <u>Vis.</u>, III, 10,9.

like Chāṭṭa, Thirāicha and the Vaiśya name Dhôdhāka, occurring in the Amodā plates[1] of the year 831, also sound non-Āryan and on the basis of non-Āryan sound, the racial attributes of the Kômô-prince cannot be determined. The Chief of the Kômô-maṇḍala, therefore, in all probability was a Kshatriya.

The marriage of Ratnarāja with the daughter of Kômô-prince has been hailed in laudable praise and traditional pride by the successors of the King. It shows that Vajuvarman was a man of great importance, whose support strengthened the position of the Kalachuris in Dakshiṇa Kosala.

Besides this, no other account of the reign of this King is forthcoming. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I, states that, 'when Ratnarāja, who by his bravery and (other) qualities conquered the enemies in battle, had gone to heaven, his son Pṛithvīdeva, the royal hero, became ruler of the earth after him'.[2] Mr.AmalanandaGhosh[3] thinks that the passage indicates Ratnarāja's fight with some powerful foe and his ultimate death in the battle. The death of a Kosala King is recorded in the Karuvur[4] and Tirumukkudal[5] inscriptions of Vīra Rājendra Chola. It is said that 'in the front of his banner troop [he]

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.80.
2. सौयाधि रत्नराजे युधि रिपुजयिनि स्वर्गते स्वर्गकृत्या-
त्पृथ्वीदेवः क्षितीशस्तदनु [illegible] सुतः [illegible] ॥
3. Ghosh, DRBV.,p.265.
4. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.III, p.30.
5. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.220-250.

cut to pieces Singhaṇa(the King) of the warlike Kosal[ai], along with the furious elephants of [his] vanguard'. The Karuvur inscription is dated in the third year of Vīra Rājendra's reign, whose accession took place in 1063 A.D. If Mr.Ghosh is correct in his surmise, the defeat and slaughter of the Kosala King came about 1066 A.D. It is significant that the Kalachuri records are silent about this event. The historicity of this fact, therefore, becomes doubtful.

The period of his reign may be suggested from 1040 to 1065 A.D.

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## PRITHVĪDEVA I

Pṛithvīdeva I, the son of Ratnarāja came to throne after his father's death in circa 1066 A.D. He is also called 'Pṛithvīsa'[1] in the Ratanpur inscription of his son Jājalladéva I.

Two copper-plate charters of this King have been discovered: (1) The Raipur plate of K.E.821, and (2) the Amodā plates of K.E. 831.

(1) The first one is an imcomplete copper-plate[2] of the Kalachuri year 821, corresponding to 1069 A.D. It was discovered at Raipur and was issued from Ratnapura.The present single plate contains only the concluding portion of a grant made by Pṛithvīdeva. As the plate has no hole by which it could be strung with the other(first) plate of the same set, it seems likely that the inscription was only an emergency copy of the original

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1. ` तस्यामजनि पृथ्वीशं धर्म्मशौर्यगुणान्वितं `

2. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, for 1945-46, Appendix A, No.54; and also C.I.I. Vol IV, pp.398-401.

Śāsana, which is not forthcoming.

In this plate, the King is described with all titles, which are essentially the same as found in Pṛithvīdeva's Amodā plates[1] and there is no doubt that the charter was issued by Pṛithvīdeva I, although his name is actually missing from the extant portion[2] recovered. The plate, therefore, is the oldest dated record of this dynasty and here the King is said to have granted the village of Asôṭhā in the Yayapara-(maṇḍala) to a Brāhmaṇa Jôkhūka, the son of Mahanē and the grandson of Bhadrabhājana. The family of the donee belonged to Kauśika-gôtra and had three pravaras. He hailed from Śrāvastī[3]. The grant was made from Ratnapura on the 8th day of the dark half of month of Māgha in the year 821[4] and was meant for increasing the religious merit of King's parents and of the donor himself. The charter was written by Garbhēśa-

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1. I am very much indebted to Pt.L.P.Pandeya for supplying me the estampage as well as the plate for examination.

2. The plate actually starts with, ' सकलधरणीभूषणगणे: समुत्पन्न---------- ' and follows the same version, which is found in the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I. The preceding words ' तत:पृथ्वीदेव: ' (E.I., Vol XIX p.79, V.13) are alone missing.

3. ' (य) यपरे असोठा ग्राग ( म ) ब्राह्मण जोक्काय मज्जे सुताय भद्रभाजन नप्ते ग्रावस्ति विनिर्गताय कौशिक गोत्राय त्रि:प्रवराय छान्दोग साङ्गि उदकपूर्वक शासनतया प्रदत्त: '।

4 'संवत् ८२१ माघ वदि ८ ओ रत्नपुरे'

vara and was engraved by Bhāsala.[1]

(2) The Amodā plates[2] of Pṛithvīdeva I, are dated in the Saṁvat 831, corresponding to 1079 A.D. They were dug out of a field in the village of Amodā, about 10 miles from Jānjgir, the headquarters of the Jānjgir Tahsil in the Bilaspur District. The plates have two holes for the rings but the seal of the charter is lost. The charter records the grant of the village Vasahā (modern Basahā in Bilaspur tahsil), in the Yayapara-maṇḍala to a Brāhmaṇa named Kêśava, son of Chāṭṭa and grand-son of Thirāicha, on the occasion of the dedication of a four-pillared hall (chatushkikā) to the god Vaṅkêśvara at Tumāṇaka. The donee belonged to the Āṅgirasa-gôtra and had three-pravaras. His ancestors had come from Hastiyāmaṭha, which has not been identified so far.

Amodā plates were similarly written and engraved by Garbhêśvara[3] and Bhāsala[4] respectively, whose names have to be restored in the light of the Raipur plate.

The Yayaparamaṇḍala[5], in which both the villages Asôṭhā and

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1. गर्भेश्वर [illegible] करोजभानु:
   [illegible] पदवर्ण [illegible]:।
   [illegible]:।
   [illegible]।
2. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75-81.
3. Dr.Hiralal read this name Garggêśvara, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.81, but the plate clearly shows the word to be Garbhêśvara.
4. Dr.Hiralal's reading is 'Ddhāsala', but it should be read as 'Bhāsala.'
5. Prof.Mirashi reads Apara-maṇḍala, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.406, f.n. 12.

Vasahā lay, must have been the tract lying about the present village Jaijaipur, 10 miles from Amodā.

In his copper-plate charters, Pṛithvīdeva is described as '<u>Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda</u>' and '<u>mahāmaṇḍalêśvara</u>'. These titles show that he held a subordinate position, evidently under the suzerainty of the Tripurī house. He is also called the master of twenty one thousand, the lord of the whole Kosala, the devout worshipper of Siva and sprung out of the Kalachuri family[1]. The titles of the Lord of the great maṇḍala and also of the whole Kosala indicate that in his time, the Ratanpur branch had attained a superior position among other principalities, but it was still a māṇḍalika-state. Dr.Ray[2] thinks that Pṛithvīdeva I, may have cooperated with Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, when the latter invaded the banks of the Gôdāvarī. But the serious reverses probably made the latter's hold over Kosala precarious and allowed the Tuṁmāṇa branch to become virtually independent. In fact, the later events of Pṛithvīdeva's reign are not known and so nothing can be said on this point. Pṛithvīdeva I, is, again said to have been the master of twenty-one thousand, which according to Dr.Fleet should mean the numerical figure of cities, towns and villages assigned to each territorial division, It means that

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1. ` ऐकविन्श (विंश) तिश ( स ) स्रै (है) कनाधनप ।हा।
पृथ्वीदेवः सकल कोसलाधिपतिना परममाहेश्व (श्व) रेण कलचुरिवन्शोद्भवेन `

- <u>C.I.I.</u>, Vol.IV, pp.400 and 406.

2. Ray, <u>DHNI</u>, Vol.II, p.806.

3. Fleet, <u>J.R.A.S.</u>, for 1912, p.708.

in Pṛithvīdeva's time the whole Kosala territory included nearly 21,000 villages in it.

The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I, vaguely enumerates the personal qualities of Pṛithvīdeva I, among which lordly nature, bestowing of prosperity and bravery are said to have been foremost.[1] His reign caused joy to everybody. The King was known to be a devout worshipper of Śiva and he had obtained the lordship of the whole Kosala through the grace of god Vaṅkêśvara. For the glory of religion, he built the temples of Pṛithvīdēvēśvara and others at Tuṁmāṇa and a lake resembling the ocean at Ratnapura.[2] This is another point in the direction to show that upto the time of Pṛithvīdeva I, both Tuṁmāṇa and Ratnapura were the important centres of royal activity.

Pṛithvīdeva I's queen was Rājallā[3] or Rājalladevī[4], who became the mother of Jājalladeva I. It appears that the King had a younger brother named Sarvadeva, who received Soṇṭhiva as his share of patrimony. The latter built a temple of Śiva, excavated a lake and laid out an orchard at Soṇṭhiva.[5]

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1. ऐश्यश्रीदत्वशौर्यप्रमुखगुणशतैर्लोकपालः स एवं क्षात्रंत्रस्तं हि तस्मै कुरु त इति नमो येन पृथ्व्याः स देव : ।। १५ ।।

   E.I., Vol.I, p.35.

2. तुंमाणे धर्म्मकीर्त्त्यर्थं पृथ्वीदेवेश्वरादयः
   रत्नपुरे समुद्राभस्तेनाकारि च सागरः ।। १७ ।।

3. Ratanpur stone inscription, E.I., Vol.I, p.35.

4. Sarkhon plates, E.I., Vol.XXII, p.165.

5. Seorinarayan Ins., Bhandarkar List No.1242, Hiralal's Ins. in C.P.& Berar, No.203, p. 122; PRAS, WC., for 1903-04, p.52.

Besides the two genuine grants above referred to, another plate found at Lāphā is ascribed to King Pṛithvīdeva I.[1] It is, however, known to be a spurious one. The style of writing is Oriya and the language is Sanskrit containing spelling mistakes. The grant opens with 'Śrī Kṛishṇachandra'. In the first verse, King Pṛithvīdeva is given the high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāja. The charter records the gift of 120 villages, appertaining to the Laṁphā (Lāphā) fort by the King Pṛithvīdeva, to a noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi. It is dated on the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in Saṁvat 806. Dr.Hiralal has proved that the grant is a forgery. The date is an impossible one both for the Vikrama or the Kalachuri Samvat. If calculated according to the Vikrama era, it precedes the advent of the Haihayas in Chhattisgarh, and in the case of the Kalachuri year, it would be almost contemporaneous with the reign of his father Ratnarāja. Dr.Bhandarkar[2] also thinks that the grant was forged sometime between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur.

The period of Pṛithvīdeva's reign may approximately be assigned between 1066 & 1090 A.D.

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1. E.I., Vol.IX, pp.293-96.

2. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions, No.1224.

# CHAPTER IV

## PERIOD OF RISE AND GROWTH

### JĀJALLADEVA I.

Pṛithvīdeva I's son Jājalladeva I came to the throne after his father in circa 1090 A.D. with him, starts the era of independent and most powerful rulers of this dynasty. His Ratanpur stone inscription[1] is the only available record for the reign of this King. The inscription records the establishment of a monastery for the ascetics(tāpasa-maṭha), the creation of a garden and a lake and probably the building of a temple at Jājallapura. The grant of the villages of Sirulī and Arjunakôṇa-Saraṇa was made by the King for the maintenance of the monastery. The inscription is dated in the Saṁvat 866, which regularly corresponds to A.D.1114.

The Ratanpur inscription seems to have been recorded at the time, when Jājalladeva I, had established his supremacy over a vast area around Tuṁmāṇa. There is absolutely no doubt that the Ratanpur branch became completely independent during the reign of Jājalladeva I.

The Ratanpur inscription says: "The illustrious Jājalla, who rises up a hero day by day on account of the abundance of his prowess, was by the ruler of Chedi, forming an alliance of princes.... .....friendship, by the ruler of Kānyakubja(and) the prince of Jejābhuktika , considering him a hero on account of his prowess, he was like a friend honoured with fortune."[2] Dr.Kielhorn suggests

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1. Kielhorn, E.I., Vol.I, pp.32-39.

2. श्रीजाजल्ल उदेति य: प्रतिदिनंशूर: प्रतापर्द्धितश्चेदीशेन स ऐन संग्रह कृता मैत्र्य-- ---- त: ।। २० ।।
कान्यकुब्ज महीपेन जेजाभुक्तिक भूभुजा । शूर इति प्रता पित्वादर्हितो मित्रवत्क्रिया ।।

the identification of the rulers of Chedi, Kānyakubja and Jêjā-bhuktika with the Kalachuri King Yaśaḥ-Karṇa(1073-1125 A.D.), the Chandella King Kīrtivarman(C.A.D.1098) and the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindachandra (C.1114-1154 A.D.) respectively.[1]

The alliance between the rulers of Jêjābhukti or Jêjākabhukti and Kānyakubja is further proved by the numismatic evidence available for Jājalladeva. It is pointed out that his coins which have on them the device of Hanumān are probably copied after the coins of identical device from the contemporary Chandella ruler Sallakshaṇa Varman.[2] The Sônsārī hoard[3] which was found in A.D. 1921-22, similarly contained two gold coins of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindachandra.

The Ratanpur inscription refers to Jājalladeva I's victory over Sômeśvara. It states, " He, who is possessed of sevenfold fortune, and by whom was seized in battle Sômeśvara..... having slain an immense army; by whom the group of councillors and wives were captured, but were released at his mother's saying - tell me have you seen or heard of such a prince on earth ?"[4] The passage means that a King named Sômeśvara was captured by the King in a battle and afterwards was released at the request of Jājalladeva's mother.

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1. E.I., Vol.I, pp.32 ff.
2. PRAS.WC., 1903-04, p.47.
3. J.N.S.I., Vol.III, p.27.
4. लक्ष्मी: सप्तविधापि यस्य जगृहे युद्धे च सोमेश्वरो ----
दग्धमितं सैन्यं निहत्यामुना । बद्धं मंत्रि कलत्र सार्थमनु तन्मातुर्गिरा मोचितं
येन वूत स ईदृश: क्षितिपतिर्दृष्ट: क्षितौ वा श्रुत: ।। २२ ।।

Dr.Hiralal indentifies Sômeśvara with the Nāgavaṁśī King of Bastar, whose known dates are A.D.1069,1095,1097 and 1109.[1] This Nāgavaṁśī prince Sômeśvara, the father of Kanharadeva(Śaka 1033=1111 A.D.)[2] in his Kuruspal inscription[3] claims to have conquered Uḍra(Orissa), Lāñjī, Lemnā, Ratnapura, Vajra, Veṅgi and Bhadra-pattana and to have acquired six lakhs and ninety-six thousand villages of the Kosala country. The number of villages seems to have been exaggerated, but the records of both the dynasties refer to the hostile relations between Sômeśvara and Jājalladeva I. It is suggested that the Tuṁmāṇa and the Bastar Kings carried on that policy of hostility, which they had inherited from their former masters, viz. the Haihayas of Ḍāhala and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[4] According to Mr.B.C.Majumdar, however, this Sômeśvara is to be identified with Kumara Somesvara of the Sonpur grant.[5] In the Kharod inscription of K.E.933, Jājalladeva is said to have made powerless the lord of Suvarṇṇapura.[6] Suvarṇapura has been identified with Sonpur, which afterwards became the capital of the Sômavaṁśīs of Kosala, situated on the confluence of the rivers Telā and Mahānadī.[7] We are not aware of Bhujabala, the ruler of Suvarṇapura

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1. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, 2nd edition pp.158 ff.
2. Nārāyanpal stone Inscription. E.I., Vol.IX, pp.161-62
3. E.I.Vol.X, pp.25-31.
4. Ray - DHNI, Vol.II, p.807.
5. E.I. Vol.XII, pp. 237 ff.
6. ' सुवर्णपुरनाथम् भुजबलं अबलं चक्रे निज भुजबलत: समीके य: ' ॥
   E.I., Vol. XXI, p.163.
7. ' तेलामहानदी संगमविमल जलपवित्रीकृत'
   J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, p.52.

from any other source. Suvarṇapura is mentioned in the Sonpur plates[1] of Kumāra Sômeśvaradeva and the Jātêsiṅgā Ḍungari plates[2] of Mahāśivagupta, which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sômavaṁśī rulers of Trikaliṅga. If Mr.Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a biruda or title of Sômeśvara. But we have no convincing facts in support of what Mr.B.C.Majumdar has suggested. On the other hand, the Kuruspal stone-inscription of the Nāgavaṁśī King Sômeśvara refers to the chiefs of Lāñjī and Ratnapura as his rivals or contemporaries. It is more likely that King Sômeśvara of the Ratanpur inscription was no other than the Nāgavaṁśī King of the same name from Baster. The defeated lord of Suvarṇapura may have been altogether a different ruler.

It is also said that the princely rulers of the maṇḍalas of (Dakshi)ṇa-Kosala, Āndhra, Khimiḍī[3], Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, either paid him tribute fixed year by year or gave presents to his delight.[4]

Dr.Kielhorn has identified some of these places in the following manner: Āndhra-Khimiḍī is Kimiḍi[5] in the Ganjam district, Vairāgara is the present Wairāgarh, 80 miles north-east of Chāndā and

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1. E.I., Vol.XII, pp.237.ff.
2. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, pp.52 ff.
3. Kielhorn takes Āndhra and Khimidī together to form one place.
4. [दक्षि ] णाकोसलान्ध्रखिमिडीवैरागरं लञ्चिका माणाररत्नहारिदंडपुरं नंदावली कुक्कुटः । यस्यैषां हि महीप मंडल भृतो नैवेण केचिन्मुदे केचि -------- कान्यन्चव्द क्लृप्तं ददुः ॥ २३ ॥
5. I.A., Vol.XVI, p.131.

Lañjikā is Lāñjī, 38 miles to the South-east of Bālāghāṭ. Bhāṇāra has been identified by Hiralal with the present Bhandārā.[1] Prof.Mirashi has been able to identify Talahāri-maṇḍala, which comprised the southern portions of the Bilaspur and Jānjgir tahsils and the northern portion of the Raipur district.[2] The other places, however, cannot be identified properly. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in his Korni copper plates[3] refers to the invasion of Utkala and Veṅgi. Korni copper-plate charter is dated A.D.1113 and it is very probable that the reference is made to the invasion of Utkala by Rāmapāla, and of Veṅgi by Jājalladeva.

Veṅgi was the capital of Āndhradêśa, which lay in the doab between the Gôdāvarī and the Kistnā rivers. Veṅgi is identical with 'Viṅgila' as mentioned by Hiuen T-sang.[4] It is modern village of Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, seven miles north of Ellore, the chief town of the Ellore taluka of the Gôdāvarī district, in the Madras Presidency, and about ten miles, to the north-west, from the Kolar or Kolleru lake.[5]

The invasion of VeṅgĪ or Āndhradêśa must have taken place before the date of the Korni copper-plates. It is mentioned in the Ratanpur Ins. that Jājalladeva succeeded in exacting tribute from the chiefs of the neighbouring maṇḍalas including Āndhra.[6]

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1. Hiralal-Ins. in C.P.& Berar, p.116.
2. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.258.
3. Korni C.P., J.A.H.R.S., Vol.I, pp.106-24.
4. Watters' Yuan Chwang's Vol.II, p.210.
5. D.C.Ganguly - The Eastern Chālukyas, p.8.
6. E.I. , Vol.I, V.23, p.36.

Thus it leaves us in no doubt that the reference to Veṅgi in the Korni Plates corroborates the mention of Āndhra in the Ratanpur stone-inscription. Dr.Kielhorn's suggestion that Āndhra and Khimiḍī should be together as one place-name is not plausible.

According to the Rājim stone-inscription[1], Jagapāla alias Jagasiṁha, a feudatory prince of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur,during the reign of the illustrious Jājalladeva conquered the countries of Rāṭha, Terama and Tamanāla (Tamnār), all situated to the north of Raigarh and included in the same district.

Various conquests and achievements of Jājalladeva make it clear that he made the Ratanpur branch completely free from the control of the Tripurī house. It was during his reign, that the power of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur had reached its zenith. Like his predecessors particularly Ratnarāja, he also founded a city named Jājallapura, which has been identified by Hiralal with Jāñjnagar Pālī 12 miles from Ratanpur.[2] But the proposed identification is not acceptable as Pālī had already attained prominence under the Bāṇa chiefs of Kosala. The new township of Jājallapura should be identified with the present Jānjgir, the headquarters of a tahsil in the Bilaspur district.

Another inscription in the Śiva temple at Pālī(near Ratanpur) mentions the name of Jājalladeva who made some additions to the temple. From the style of the temple,Cousens[3] thinks that it should be assigned to Jājalladeva I.[4]

Jājalladeva's queen was Lāchhalladêvī[5]. His

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1. I.A., Vol. XVII, pp.135 ff.
2. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.116.
3. PRAS.,WC., 1903-04, p.28.
4. See Chapter IX, on Architecture.
5. Kotgadh Ins., PRAS., WC, 1903-04, p.51.
   Kugda Ins., I.A., Vol.XX,p.84.
   Akaltara Ins., PRAS, WC., 1903-04, p.52.

religious preceptor (गुरु ) and the minister for peace and war (सांधिविग्रहिक) were Rudraśiva and Vigraharāja respectively.[1] The Rājim inscription gives the name of Devarāja, who seems to have served the King as his chief minister and continued in that office as Pradhāna for two successive generations.[2] With his aid Jagapāla and his two brothers accomplished their victories. In the Peṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla, Jājalladeva is called the patron of good arts , possessing all the noble virtues.[3]

On a window sill of temple at Pālī, there are two pilgrim records; one by Viśveśvara, and another by 'Śrī Magaradhvaja Jôgī 700'.[4] The name Magaradhvaja with a mysterious number 700 is found inscribed on temples and idols scattered over a vast area lying between Baijnāth close to the Ganges in the north and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State bordering on the Godavari in the South and Chittôrgarh in the North-west to Cuttack in the east, covering the whole of the Madhya Pradesh and parts of Bihar, Orissa, Vindhya Pradesh and Rājasthān. Cunningham first took it to be the year of some era, when this ascetic visited all those sacred places. He first tried to fit in with Chedi or Kalachuri era and later on with the Harsha era, but in vain. However, judg-

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1. Ratanpur Ins. E.I., Vol.I, pp.34 ff.,Vv.28-29.

2. प्रधानं त्रिषु राज्येषु देवराजोऽपि नामतः । स्वभिस्तु पक्षसंयोगैः साधितान्च वसुन्धराम ।।२६ I.A., Vol.XVII, pp.135-40.

3. अथ रुचिररुचिश्रीराश्रयः सत्कलानामनुपहितकलंकोनघमूर्तिः सुवृत्तः । सकल [ गुण ] समूहः स्त्री (श्री) मतस्तस्य सूनर्व्विधुरिव सुकृतानात्धा ( न्धा ) म जाजल्लदेवः ।।
E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-8.

4. Hiralal - Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.124.

ing from the formation of characters, Cunningham assigned them to a period not older than the 12th or 13th century A.D.[1] This is also to be noticed that the inscription is not in the same handwriting in each case, as one should expect it to be, were it written by one solitary Yôgin wandering from shrine to shrine. The name must have been engraved by some of his many disciples, but not always by the same man. Another interesting fact to be noticed is that the name and figure are engraved even on the pedestals of the Vishṇuite idols and huge liṅgas.[2] Garrick[3] was right in suggesting that this Yôgin was a ascetic of considerable importance and was not a common mendicant. He must have commanded considerable resources to enable him to visit the numerous places at great distances where his name is found inscribed. It is also a peculiar thing to note that the name Magaradhvaja finds equal place on Vaishṇava idols as well as on liṅgas.

The manuscript history of the Ratanpur Kings has solved this mystery. It records the existence of a matha of Magaradhvaja with 700 disciples at Ratanpur during the reign of Jājalladeva I. The oldest shrine at Ratanpur is that of Mahā-māyā, the object of special worship by the Pāśupata Śaivites. Towards the close of the 18th century a number of histories on the ruling dynasties of Ratanpur came to be written and are preserved in manuscript form in Ratanpur proper and in other places as well. The

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1. Cunningham, A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.43.
2. Hiralal, I.H.Q., Vol.III, p.409.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.XIX, p.23.

purport to have been written by one Pandit Kêvā Rām Bāboo - a local scholar and author who evidently is identical with a person who was asked to prepare a short historical account of Rulers of Ratanpur including the Bhônslās of Nagpur for the use of Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces. All the manuscripts are at variance regarding the details due to various causes.[1] Dr.Hiralal may be correct in his suggestion that Śrī Magaradhvaja was the head of the Ratanpur matha, who had a following of 700 disciples.[2] According to him a branch of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivas was established at a place known as Dêvīkhôl which later on came to be known as Ratnapura after king Ratnadeva gave his name to it. It is said that he with his 700 disciples set out on pilgrimage along with King Jājalladeva and never returned.[3]

As is evident from the manuscript history of Ratanpur, Jājalladeva I, abdicated the throne and accompanied Śrī Magaradhvaja for his last pilgrimage. This event must have occurred near about 1115 A.D., when his supremacy over Southern Kosala was well established. His reign, therefore, may tentatively be assigned to a period between 1090 & 1115 A.D.

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1. Dr.Hiralal had obtained a copy at Ratanpur, which the present writer was able to examine through the courtesy of Shri Pyare Lal Gupta of Bilaspur.
2. Hiralal, I.H.Q., Vol.III, p.411.
3. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.125.

## RATNADEVA II.

Ratnadeva II, the son of Jājalladeva I came to throne in circa 1115 A.D. The following inscriptions of his reign are known:-

(1) Śeôrīnārāyan copper-plates of the year 878=1127 A.D. recording the grant of the village Tiṇêrī situated in the Anarghavallī-vishya to Nārāyaṇa Śarman on the occasion of a lunar exlipse.[1]

(2) Sarkhon(Bilaspur District) copper-plates of the year 880=1128 A.D., recording the grant of the village Chiṁchā-talāi(modern Chicholā), situated in the Anarghavalli-maṇ-ḍala to one Padmanābha, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa-gôtra and five pravaras for forecasting a total lunar eclipse in the month of Kārttika[2] when the grant was given.

(3) Pāragāon plates of the year 885=1135 A.D. recording the grant of the village of Vôḍalā in Kosala-maṇḍala to the Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha of the Bhārggava-gôtra on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika.[3]

(4) Akaltarā stone - inscription recording the exploits of the Vaiśya prince Vallabharāja.[4]

(5) Raipur Museum Fragmentary stone - inscription, mentioning the name of the same Vallabharāja.[5].

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1. I.H.Q., Vol. IV, pp.31 ff; C.I.I.,Vol.IV, pp.419-423.
2. E.I., Vol.XXII,pp.159-167.
3. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.622-626.
4. PRAS., W.C., 1903-04, p.51; C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.430-436.
5. I.A., Vol.XX, p.84; C.I.I., Vol.IV., pp. 436-442.

Ratnadeva (II)'s victory over the famous Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty figures prominently in the records of the successive generations. The Ratanpur inscription of the Vikrama year 1207[1] says that he was 'the Rāhu to (devour) the grown-up moon that was the warriors of Choḍagaṅga'.[2] Koni inscription[3] of the times of Pṛithvīdeva (II) also mentions the conquest of Kaliṅga by Ratnadeva (II). In the Malhār (Mallār) stone-inscription of Jājalladeva (II),[4] he is described as ' a fierce cloud to extinguish the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the prowess of prince Choḍagaṅga'.[5]

A passage in the Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva(III) also refers to the defeat of the King Chôḍagaṅga.[6] The same victory has also been alluded to in the Peṇḍrābandh plates of

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1. E.I., Vol.I, pp.45-52.
2. गव्वरिवव्वित चोडगंगसुभटस्फोरेन्दुवि (बि) म्ब ( म्ब ) ग्रहग्रासेराहु रनन्तसो ( शौ ) यं महिमाश्चर्यो महीमण्डले ।। ५।।
3. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276-87.
4. E.I., Vol.I, pp.40 ff., V.4.
5. तद्वंशे नृपचोडगंगविसरत्प्रौढप्रतापानल ज्वाला सन्तति शान्ति चण्ड जलद: श्रीरत्नदेवो ऽभवत् ।
6. यश्चोडगंग नृपतिं कलिंग देशाधिपं गजाधीशम्। समिति जटेश्वर ------ [ कृतकाश्वयुजोन्तिकंच ] ॥ ८ ॥

Pratāpamalladeva.[1]

The defeat of Choḍagaṅga and afterwards that of his son Jaṭêśvara shows that the relations of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur with the Eastern Gaṅgas, their immediate neighbours on the east were not friendly. The Peṇḍrābandh plates state that Ratnadeva(II) of matchless valour routed Choḍagaṅga and Gokarṇṇa in battle.[2] The importance of the fact lies in the mention of Gokarṇṇa as an associate of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in the encounter with Ratnadeva(II). Gokarṇṇa has been identified with Gokarṇṇa a Telugu Choḍa prince of Varddhamānapura under the Kākatiya Rudra.[3] Gokarṇṇa is also mentioned in the Guḍiwaḍa inscription[4], which refers to the grant by a certain Gokarṇarāja, who was a subordinate of King Anantavarman. The record is not of much use for us, as it is undated. Prof.Mirashi suggests that it does not seem likely that a poet would refer to Ratnadeva's victory over Chôḍagaṅga and his feudatory in the same breath. Besides, the Kharod inscription(l.7) seems to mention Jaṭêśvara as associated with his father Choḍagaṅga in this war. Prof.Mirashi is inclined to think that Gokarṇṇa may have been another name of

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1. रत्नदेवोभवत्स्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः ।
यश्चोडगंगगोकर्ण्णौ युधि चक्रेपराङ्मुखौ ॥ ६ ॥

2. Peṇḍrābandh Plates, V.9, E.I., Vol.XXIII, p. .4.

3. E.I., Vol.XXVIII, p.152.

4. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.162, f.n.1.

Jaṭeśvara[1]. But Jaṭeśvara, mentioned in the Kharod Inscription is to be identified with Madhu-Kāmārṇava VII, the son of Choḍagaṅga, who is known to have ascended the throne in 1142 A.D.[2] The date of Jaṭeśvara's accession definitely falls in the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II and not in the time of his father, Ratnadeva II. Dr.N.P.Chakravarti does not agree with Prof. Mirashi's views. In his opinion, there is nothing wrong in the victory achieved over the King and his feudatories being mentioned together.[3] The Tirumukkudal inscription of Vīra Rājendra refers to his victory over Āhavamalla and his feudatories.[4]

In the present state of our knowledge, the evidence is, inconclusive. We are inclined to infer that Gokarṇṇa, the Telugu Choḍa prince of Varddhamānapura is meant here.

The Śeôrīnārāyan stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II gives us the definite information that this fight between Choḍagaṅga and Ratnadeva II took place at Śeôrīnārāyan, well-known place of pilgrimage, on the left bank of the Mahānadī, 38 miles S.E. of Bilaspur.[5]

Since Ratnadeva's victory over Choḍagaṅga is not mentioned in the Śeôrīnārāyan and the Sarkhon plates, it may be assumed that this occurred late in his reign. It is probable that he defeated the Gaṅga King after 1130 A.D.[6]

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1. E.I., Vol. XXII, p.162.
2. Kendu-Patna plates of Narasiṁha II and two Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV.
   J.A.S.B., Vol.LXV, pt.i,p.242; Ibid., Vol. LXIV, pt.i,pp.136 and 151.
3. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.162. He cites the example of Vīra Rājendra's victory over Āhavamalla and his feudatories.
4. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.241.
5. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.522.
6. J.K.H.R.S., Vol.I, p.61.

The Rājim inscription of Jagapāladeva tells us that Jagapāla and Devarāja, the Pradhāna, continued to serve under Ratnadeva (II). Jagapāla claims to have acquired the Talahāri-bhūmi and Sindūramāṅgu,[1] which according to Dr.Hiralal, may represent the country round Rāmṭek.[2]

From the Koṭgaḍh inscription[3], we come to know of a family founded by a Vaiśya prince called Devarāja and succeeded by his descendants Rāghava, Harigaṇa ( a support to the Kalachuris family) and Vallabharāja successivily. The latter is also mentioned in the Akaltarā inscription,[4] and the Kugḍā inscription.[5] Vallabharāja is said to have over-run the Laḍahā country and to have reduced the King of Gauḍa. Dr.D.R.Bhandarkar is in favour of placing Laḍahā in the Deccan, as a Laḍahā or Lahaḍā is mentioned in Bṛihat-saṁhitā[6] in conjunction with Aśmaka and Kôlūṭa, the former of which

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1. श्रीरत्नदेव: नृपराज्यकालेसिन्दूरमंगुस्तलहारिभूमौ । उपार्ज्जितौ येन सुवीर वृत्यै : सत्यन्च सत्यं जगसिंह नाम ॥ १४ ॥

   I.A., Vol.XVII, pp.135-140.

2. Hiralal, Ins.in C.P. & Berar, 2nd edition, p.107.

3. P.R.A.S., WC., 1903-04, p.51.

4. PRAS.,WC., 1903-04, p.52, No.8.

5. I.A., Vol.XX, p.84.

6. Bṛihatsaṁhitā: XIV, 22;

   Prof.Mirashi, however, does not agree with the identification of Laḍahā in this way. He takes the sense of 'beautiful' by Laḍahā. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.431, fn.3.

i.e. Aśmaka was definitely in the Deccan.[1] Dr.Hiralal says that Deccan appears to be rather too far away for a chieftain of Koṭgaḍh to conquer. What is more probable is that Vallabharāja conquered the adjoining Southern tracts of Bilaspur, still known as Laḍiā or Lariā country.[2]

Mr. B.Singh Deo has proposed another identification 3 that Laḍahā comprised the present Mayūrbhañj state and the Singhbhūm District since the Jain Āryāṅga Sutta states that Lord Mahāvīra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lāḍhas in Vajjabhūmi and Subbabhūmi".[4] The proposed identification, if accepted, would not complicate the problem, as 'Laḍahā' lay on his way to Bengal. Gauḍa was the old name of Bengal. But Prof. Mirashi translates the word as 'beautiful' and suggests that the word does not give the sense of any place-name.[5]

Ratnadeva II seems to be the first ruler, who entered into the hostile relation with his kinsmen of the Tripurī house. In the Ratanpur inscription of the year (V.E.1207) it is stated that 'he was the fierce submarine fire to (dry up) the unique sea of the host of the army of the Chedi King'[6]

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1. PRAS., WC., 1903, p.51.
2. Dr.Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.121.
3. B.Singh Deo, J.B.O.R.S.(March,1927), Vol.XIII, pp.90-91; J.A.H.R.S.(October,1927), Vol.II, pp.91-92.
4. J.A.S.B.(New Series), Vol.IV, pp.285-86.
5. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.432.
6. 'तस्माच्चेदिनरेन्द्रदुर्दमचमूचक्रैकवारांनिधेस्तीव्रोर्वुज्वलनोऽजनिष्ट तनय: श्री रत्नदेवो नृप: ।'

   E.I., Vol.I, pp.45-52.

The Koni inscription of the year 900 = A.D.1148[1], states that Purushôttama, the Sarvādhikārin of Ratnadeva(II), "captured the Khimmiṇḍi-maṇḍala and made the Talahāri-maṇḍala attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjiṅga. He killed Haravôhu and his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daṇḍabhukti".[2] But it is to be noted that some of these countries are also mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva(I).[3] Jājalladeva (I) is said to have received annual tributes from the rulers of Dakshiṇa Kosala, Āndhra, Khimiḍī, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri and Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa. Khimiḍī, Talahāri and Daṇḍapura are common to both the inscriptions. Prof.Mirashi thinks that Purushôttama may have held the office of a Minister under Jājalladeva(I) also and may have distinguished himself during his master's warfare. He may have taken a prominent part in the expeditions of Jājalladeva(I) against the rulers of these three countries.[4] The remaining three events, namely the subjugation of Khijjiṅga, the slaying of Haravôhu and the intimidation of the Lord of Daṇḍabhkti, may have taken place during the reign of Ratnadeva. The

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276-87.
2. सिम्मिण्डिमण्डलहरत्तहारि हारि कर्ताऽथ दण्डपुर दण्डनचण्डबा (बा) हः । सिज्जिंगभंगचतुरो हरवोहहन्ता यो दंडभुक्तिपति-तज्जीनदुज्जीयश्री ।। २६ ।।
   E.I., Vol.XXVII, p.283. Pt.L.P.Pandeya reads 'Haravoṅga' in place of 'Haravôhu'.
3. E.I., Vol.I, p.36.
4. Mirashi, E.I., Vol.XXVII, p.279.

subjugation of Khijjiṅga (modern Khiching in Mayūrbhañj State, Orissa) and the slaying of Haravôhu are not known from any other source, but the intimidation of the Lord of Daṇḍabhukti, may have taken place during Ratnadeva(II)'s expedition against the Gauḍa King, which the former launched probably soon after inflicting a crushing defeat on Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. The Gauḍa invasion is mentioned in two records[1] of Vallabharāja, who was a feudatory of both Ratnadeva(II) and Pṛithvīdeva(II). Vallabharāja is said to have fought valiantly in the presence of his lord (RatnadevaII) and captured many elephants from the enemy's city.

The invasion of the Gauḍa Kingdom is probably referred to also in the Rāmacharita of Saṁdhyākaranandin.[2] It is said that "Madanapāla drove back to the Kālindī (which flowed near his capital) the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side."[3] The invader, who is not named in Saṁdhyākaranandin's work was probably Ratnadeva(II). Like Vallabharāja, Purushôttama also seems to have distinguished himself in this expedition in the course of which he intimidated the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, which is identified with the modern district of Midnapur in Bengal. The royal seal of the Śeôrīnā-

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1. The Akaltarā stone inscription,) ) Dr.Hiralal's Inscriptions in C.P.&Berar, 2nd Edition, p.121.
   The Koṭgaḍh stone inscription, )

2. Saṁdhyākaranandin - Rāmacharita, Canto. IV, Verse 133.

3. Majumdar, History of Bengal, Vol.I, p.170.

rāyan copper plates contains the word " Mahārāṇaka"[1] with the name of the King and hitherto this title has not been found in the royal grants of this dynasty. In the Sarkho plates, he, adopts the title "The Lord of the whole Kosala country"[2] which he inherited from his grandfather, Pṛithvīdeva I, and which has been continued by his descendants.

The Koni inscription throws light on the personal achievements of the King. Ratnadeva(II) had full knowledge of thirty-six sciences of Arms and he was very fond of battles.[3] The eulogy runs: 'To him was(born) a sun(named) Ratnadeva(II), the king wellknown in the three worlds, who was the first to teach humiliation to the flourishing lord of Kalinga; who had an extremely developed and spreading fame; who had full knowledge of

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1. 'महाराणक श्रीमद्रत्नदेव:'
   I.H.Q., Vol.IV, p.31.

2. तस्यात्मज: सकल कोसलमंडनश्री:श्रीमान्समाहृतसमस्तनराधिप श्री:। सर्वक्षिती श्वरसि ( शि) रोविहितांघ्रिसेव: सेवामृतां निधिरसौ भुविरत्नदेव:।११।

   E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.159-167.

3. E.I. , Vol.XXVII, pp.276-287.
   उद्यत्कालिंगभंगप्रथमगुरु रतिप्रौढकीर्त्तिप्रतान: षट्त्रिंश च्छस्त्रविद्यास्वधिक परिचय: प्रौढदोर्दण्डदर्प: । प्रोद्यद्भूपालरक्ष:क्षयकरणमहासिद्धमन्त्रो धरित्र्यांराजाश्रीरत्नदेवोस्त्रिभुवनविदितस्तस्य सूनुर्व्वभूव ।। ९९ ।।
   स्तोतव्य: समरोत्सवैकरसिक: श्रीरत्नदेव: सकिं सर्व्वत्रैव सदैव सैन्यनिवहै साकन्तथैकाकिना। सारंभं परिभर्त्सयन्निव मुहुर्युद्धाय वद्धादरो भूपानामुपरि स्फुरत्यविरतं यस्योग्रयोगारव : ।। १० ।।

thirty six sciences of Weapons and the pride of fully developed Arms; (and) who was the great magical incantation for the destruction of evil spirits, namely the rising kings on(this) earth."

"Does that illustrious Ratnadeva (II) need to be praised (he) whose sole delight at all places and times was in the festivity of battle whether he was followed by a host of armies or was alone, and the great noise of whose dreadful marches incessantly hovers over(other) kings, proudly rebuking them as it were and challenging them to fight again and again."

The manuscript history of the Ratanpur Kings records about the abdication of Jājalladeva I. The event would have taken place after the date of the Ratanpur inscription i.e. A.D.1114, when his conquests were complete and he had placed his empire on a solid foundation. The earliest record of the son and successor of Ratnadeva(II) is dated in 1139 A.D. The reign of Ratnadeva(II), therefore, may be fixed with certainty in the period between 1115 and 1137 A.D.

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## PRITHVĪDEVA (II)

Pṛithvīdeva II was the son of Ratnadeva(II). He came to throne after his father in circa 1137. The following inscriptions of his reign have been found:-

(1) Ḍaikonī plates[1] of the year 890 = 1138 A.D., recording the gift of the village Vuḍukunī (modern Ḍaikonī, the find

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVIII, pp.146-54.

spot of the plates, a few miles S.E. of Ratanpur, near Akaltarā) in Madhya-dêśa with all its incomes to one Vishṇu, a Brāhmaṇa of the <u>Vatsa-gòtra</u> and of the Pañcha-<u>pravaras</u> on the occasion of a lunar-eclipse occuring in the month of Kārttika.[1]

(2) Kugḍā stone-inscription[2], which is a fragmentary record, is dated in the Kalachuri Saṁvat 893, corresponding to A.D. 1141-42, belonging to the reign of Pṛithvīdeva(II). In the body of the record are mentioned the words Kalachuri, Mahishī Lāchhalladêvī, Śrī Ratnadeva and Vallabharāja.

(3) Bilaigaḍha plates [3] of the year 896 (1145 A.D.), registering the gift of the village Paṇḍaratalāi (modern village of the same name, situated in the Pandariyā Zamindāri of Bilaspur district, about 52 miles west of Bilaspur) in the Ēvaḍi-maṇḍala to the Brāhmana Dêlhūka on the occasion of a Solar eclipse.[4] The charter gives an interesting information

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1. राहुग्रस्तेरजनितिलके कार्त्तिके पंचदश्यां कृत्वा हस्तोदकमिदमत्यश्रद्धया मध्यदेशे सर्वादायैः सह कुडकुनीग्राममत्यन्त रम्यं पृथ्वीदेवो नरपतिरदाद्विष्णवेऽस्मै द्विजाय ॥ १६ ॥

2. <u>I.A.</u>, Vol.XX, p.84 and <u>A.S.I.R.</u>, Vol.VII, p.211.
3. <u>C.I.I.</u>, Vol.IV, pp.458-462; <u>E.I.</u>, Vol.XXIX, pp.194-198.

4. पण्डरतलाइग्रामं, ख्यातमेवडिमण्डले ।
पृथ्वीदेवोददौ तस्मै, सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १६॥

that Pṛithvīdeva II devastated Chakrakôṭa and as a consequence of this furious act, the contemporary Gaṅga King was struck with terror.[1]

(4) Rājim stone-inscription[2] of the year 896 = 1145 A.D. giving the account of Jagapala, a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kings and his achievements. The inscription is preserved into Rājivalôchana temple at Rājim, in the Raipur district. It is a Vaishṇava record. It gives the genealogy of Jagapāla, who served as a feudatory under Pṛithvīdeva (II) and his immediate predecessors. The eulogy was composed by Ṭhakkura Jasānanda, son of Ṭhakkura Jaśôdhara of the Ayodhyāpurīya family and the praśasti was written and engraved by the Rūpakāra Ratnapāla.

It is not known from which source, Cunningham derived the fact that Jagapāla or Jagat-Pāla, as he calls him, of the Rājim Inscription, married Pṛithvīdeva's daughter.[3]

(5) Pāragāon plates[4] of the year 897=1146 A.D. recording

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.
2. I.A., Vol.XVII, pp.135-40.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.71.
4. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.626-631.

the grant of the village Vaḍadā in the Kosala-maṇḍala (Vaḍadā = Badrā, 22 miles S.E. of Pāragāon) to the Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha Dīksita of the Bhārggava - gôtra on the occasion of the Śrāddha of the King's father (Ratnadeva II).

(6) Śêôrīnārāyan Image - inscription of the year 878 = 1146 A.D., recording the installation of an image of a warrior named Saṁgrāmasiṁha son of Balasiṁha and Amānadevī. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 898, on Monday, the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina. The engraver was one Talapasiṁha.[1]

(7) Amodā plates[2] of the year 900 = 1149 A.D., registering the gift of the village of Āvalā (modern Aurābhāṭā, in the Lāphā Zamindāri) in the Madhya-maṇḍala to the Brāhmaṇa Śīlaṇa, who had migrated from Ṭakārī, on the occasion of a lunar-eclipse occurring in the month of Chaitra in the Chedi year 900. The inscription was written by Śrī-Vatsarāja of the Vāstavya family and engraved by Lakshmīdhara.

(8) Koni inscription[3] of the year 900 = 1148 A.D., giving details of the construction of a five-shrined temple of Śiva by Sarvādhikārin Purushôttama and the grant of the village of Salônī (modern Sarāônī which lies only about a mile and a half South-West of Koni) to the wise Purushôttama by Pṛithvīdeva II on the occasion of a solar eclipse, which in the current year 900 fell on 15th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha. The tithi regularly corresponds to the 20th April,

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1. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.53.
2. I.H.Q., Vol.I, pp.409-11.
3. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276-87.

1148 A.D. Purushôttama gave four plough-measures[1] of land to gods and two plough-measures to the learned Brāhmaṇa Vāsudêva. The praśasti was composed by Kāśala.

(9) Ratanpur inscription of the Vikrama year 1207 = 1149-50 A.D. Formerly it was supposed of the Vikrama Saṁvat 1247,[2] but Prof.Mirashi has corrected its date (i.e.V.E.1207)[3]. The date was correctly read by Dr.Rajendralal Mitra as 1207[4] and it falls within the reign of Pṛithvīdeva (II). Dr.Kielhorn first postulated the existence of a Pṛithvīdeva (III), but later on he too suspected that the inscription really belongs to Pṛithvīdeva(II) and that the date given in the inscription was a mistake.[5]

The inscription is a Śaiva record and after giving the usual genealogy of Jājalladeva (I), Ratnadeva (II) and Pṛithvīdeva (II), it mentions the family of Vāstavya Devagaṇa who originally came into Tuṁmāṇa from the Chedi-maṇḍala. Devagaṇa erected a Śaiva

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1. मेदिनीहलचत्वारि देवेभ्योधऽप्रदत्तवान् ।
   हलद्वयं द्विजायासौ वासुदेवाय धीमते: ।।

   E.I., Vol.XXVII, p.284.

2. E.I., Vol.I, pp.45-52.

3. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p. 257.

4. J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXII, p.283.

5. Kielhorn, List, Supplement, p.17n.

   On a close examination of the record at the Raipur Museum, it appears that the date of the present inscription was engraved in a different hand rather carelessly and may not therefore be contemporaneous with the original engraving. This discrepancy is noted here for the first time.

temple at the village of Sāmbā. The great grand-father of Devagaṇa, Gôvinda had two sons, Māmê and Rāghava; and Māmê's son again was Ratnasiṁha, the father of Devagaṇa(VV.8-22).

Devagaṇa, the founder of the temple himself composed the inscription; and his father Ratnasiṁha is the composer of the Malhār (Mallār) inscription of the year 919 = 1167-68 A.D.[1] The inscription was written by Kumārapāla and engraved by Sāṁpula.(VV.26-28).

(10) Amodā plates[2] of the year 905 = 1154 A.D., granting the village of Buḍubuḍu (modern Burbur in the Lāphā Zamindāri) in the Madhya-maṇḍala to the Brāhmaṇa Śīlaṇa and his two brothers Pīthaṇa and Lakhanū, on the occasion of the Rājyākshaya-tṛitīyā, which regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 17th March, 1154 A.D. The charter was issued on a Tuesday, 6th day of the month of bright Āśvina in Saṁvat 905, which corresponds to Tuesday, the 14th September, 1154 A.D. It was written by Śrī Vatsarāja and engraved by one Chādārka.

(11) Ratanpur Fragmentary inscription, in which some words are legible. The inscription is dated in the Kalachuri Saṁvat 910 = 1158 A.D., in the victorious reign of King Śrīmat-Pṛithvīdeva (II)[3].

(12) Ratanpur (Bādal Mahal) inscription[4] of the year 915 = (if expired, would correspond to) 1163-64 A.D. This is the

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1. Kielhorn, List, No.184n.
2. I.H.Q., Vol.I, pp.412-14.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, pl.XX.
4. E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255-67.

last known date for Pṛithvīdeva (II). The inscription is of one Brahmadeva, a feudatory of Pṛithvīdeva (II). It records the religious and charitable works of Brahmadeva at several places. Brahmadeva, the foremost of the feudatories of Talahāri-maṇḍala obtained a victory on Jaṭêśvara. The King afterwards brought him from Talahāri-maṇḍala and entrusted to him the administration of his country in order to obtain peace of mind [1] (V.21). Various temples and lakes were constructed by Brahmadeva. He is said to have erected the temples of Śiva at Mallāla (modern Mallār, 16 miles South-East of Bilaspur), a place, the name of which is lost, Varelāpura (modern Varelā, 10 miles South of Ratanpur), Nārāyaṇapura (Raipur), Têjallapura (not identified), Kumarākoṭa (modern Koṭgaḍh according to Hiralal) and nine temples of Pārvatī at Ratnapura. He, further, excavated tanks at Mallāla, another place, the name of which is lost, Ratnapura, Gôṭhālī (not identified), near the village Bamhaṇī ( 4 miles north-east of Akaltarā) and Charaḍya (not known). He also constructed a large and beautiful well, with wonderful steps at Ratnapura.

To the god, Sômanātha, Brahmadeva granted the village Loṇākara together with all the taxes. The granted village

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1. आनीते तनहारिमण्डलवराच्छ्रीकोशलस्वामिना पृथ्वीदेव नरेश्वरेण परमप्रेम्णा गुणानां निधौ । हस्तन्यस्तकृपाणपातनिहतप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतौयस्मिन्राज्य धुरं समर्पयं परमां लब्धा मनोनिर्वृतिः ॥ २१ ॥

E.I., Vol.XXVI, p. 261.

is, however, not known. Perhaps the temple of the god Sômanātha, to which he made his village was situated at Dhangāon, from where the stone-slab bearing this inscription was brought to Ratanpur.[1] The eulogy was composed by Tribhuvanapāla and written by Kumarapāla. It was incised on the slab by Dhanapati and Īśvara.

(13) Probably Mahāmadpur Fragmentary inscription,[2] which refers to the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapura, also belongs to Pṛithvīdeva (II). It is not very legible, but Dr.Kielhorn gives the following extract. ' In the Tummāṇa country, there was a King called Jājalladeva, the ornament of the Kalachuris. Another was Ratnadeva, from whom Pṛithvīdeva was born. Names of Vallabharāja and Pṛithvīdeva are given, but the context is not clear.

(14) Spurious Ghoṭiā plates[3] of the year 1000, granting the village Goṭhāya, apparently the present Ghoṭiā, in Raipur district, situated in the Sagatta-maṇḍala to one Gopāla Śarmā of the Āśvalāyana-gôtra, having the three pravaras. The charter is dated in Saṁvat 1000, on a Thursday of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada, but the tithi, which is the most important item is omitted. The record does not mention what Saṁvat it refers to. Dr.Hiralal has already proved that this year cannot be dated according to

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1. Buglar's information, E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.256, fn.3.
2. PRAS.,WC., 1903-04, p.50.
3. I.A., Vol. LIV, pp.44-45.

the Kalachuri, Vikrama or the Śaka era. In his opinion, the forgery seems to have been committed about a hundred years after the death of Pṛithvīdeva (II), that is, about the middle of the 13th century A.D., when any date could have been assigned to him without being easily detected. To give the record the sanctity of great antiquity, the date of the grant was apparently put back 300 years and dated in the Saṁvat prevalent at that time, viz., the Vikrama era, whose year 1000, corresponding to 943 A.D. But this resulted in bringing the plates to a period before the advent of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh. The Bilaigaḍh plates[1] of the year 969 = 1218 A.D., in the present state of our knowledge, is the last record of this line. It is just possible that after Pratāpamalla, there might have followed a tug of war, for the Ratanpur throne, among the claimants of the collateral Kalachuri families. In this turmoil, some one might have produced this forged record and in order to prove its authenticity would have connected it with the name of Pṛithvīdeva (II), whose wise rule and liberal endowments were still known to the people. The Ghoṭiā plates follow closely other genuine records of the Kalachuri rulers.

It is not possible to detect how the forgery was brought about. No epigraphic records after Pratāpamalla, the last ruler are known. Prof. Mirashi on the other hand thinks the record to be genuine and corrects the date to the current Kalachuri year 900.[2]

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1. E.I., Vol.XXIX, pp.97-104.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.479.

In the Ratanpur inscription[1], Pṛithvīdeva II, is credited with the defeat of Jaṭêśvara alias Madhu-Kāmārṇava VII.[2] This defeat is ascribed to his vassal Brahmadeva, the Lord of Talahāri-maṇḍala.[3] Brahmadeva seems to have taken a leading part in the defeat of Jaṭêśvara alias Kāmārṇava. We have already discussed that his father Choḍagaṅga invaded the Kalachuri Kingdom and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ratnadeva II. The defeat of Choḍagaṅga must have occurred in the latter part of his reign. He had his capital at Kaliṅganagar till 1135 A.D. An inscription at the Kūrmêśvara temple in the Ganjam district dated 1135 A.D. records that in that year, he returned to his headquarters after subduing the Western, Northern and Eastern countries and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Gôdāvarī rivers under his firm control.[4] Jaṭêśvara also like, his father, attempted a similar invasion which likewise proved unsuccessful and resulted in his own defeat. The defeat of Jaṭêśvara is also

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255-67.

2. Inscription in the Mukhalingam Temple of Saka Era 1070, J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, p.52.

3. --- -- खड्गताभिघाततडितिकुध्यद्विषन्मण्डलीकण्ठोद्गच्छदसृक्प्रवाह
निवहेर्दुः संचरे संगरे येनाक्रम्य ज ेश्वरो रिपुनृप कूर ----------

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- C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.505.

4. S.I. Inscrr., Vol.V, No.1335; J.A.H.R.S., Vol.VII, p.57.

mentioned in the Kharod inscription of the year 933.[1] Prof. Mirashi has concluded from his reading that Jaṭèśvara was made captive by Pṛithvīdeva II.[2] He thinks that the reference to the imprisoning of a mighty foe by Brahmadeva, in the Bādal Mahal inscription is made to the same event.[3] Brahmadeva afterwards became Pṛithvīdeva's trusted minister and was entrusted with the administration of the whole Kingdom. The newly discovered Bilaigadh plates also refer to Pṛithvīdeva's victory over a Gaṅga ruler.[4]

Rājim inscription which is contemporaneous with the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II records the exploits of Jagapāla and states that this chief (i.e. Jagapāla) and his two brothers Gājala and Jayatsiṁha together with Devarāja, the Prime Minister( of Pṛithvī-deva II also ) subdued the earth.[5]

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1. पृथ्वीदेव नृपस्ततः समभवद्यन्मौलि [दे] शोल्लसद्रत्नार्चिर्निचयेन रञ्जितमुमा
भर्तुः पदाब्ज द्वयम् ।
जित्वा येन जटेश्वरो नरपतिः संख्ये स्वदोर्विक्रमैः ॥ ६ ॥
- E.I., Vol.XXI, p.163.

2. Mirashi reads as, कारागार निवासि च (ब) न्दिषु --- धरां प्रापितः ।

3. विख्यातो बलिवैरिबन्धनविधौ कृष्णो न कृष्णद्युतिः ---- ॥ १७ ॥
- E.I., Vol. XXVI, p.261.

4. पुत्रस्तस्य प्रथितमहिमा सो भवद्भूपतीन्द्रः पृथ्वीदेवो रिपुनृपशिरः
श्रेणिदत्तांघ्रिपद्मः । यः श्रीगंगं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रकोटोपमद्यच्चिन्ताक्रान्तं
जलनिधिजलोल्लंघनैकाभ्युपाये ॥ ११ ॥
- C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.

5. जगपालानुजो भ्राता गाजलोऽपि धनुर्द्धरं ।
विक्रमीदुष्टहन्ता च स (श) कुसंघभयंकरः ॥ २४ ॥
तत्र पृष्ठानुजो जा [तः] जय ॥ ८ ॥ सिंहोऽपि नामतः ।
बीभत्सस्योपमं वीरं धन्विनं रिपुनासनं ॥ २५ ॥
प्रधानं त्रिषु राज्येषु देवराजोऽपि नामतः ।
एभिस्तुपक्षसंयोगैः साधिताऽयं वसुन्धराम् ॥ २६ ॥
-I.A., Vol.XVII., pp.135 ff.

In lines 10-11, we are told that Jagapāla 'not only took the forts of Saraharāgaṛha and Machakā Sihavā, and conquered the Bhramaravadra country, but also took Kāntāra, Kusumabhôga, Kāndāḍoṅgara and the district of Kakayara.[1]

Cunningham, Kielhorn and Hiralal have identified most of these places. Saraharāgaṛha has been identified with Sāraṅgarh to the east of Raipur, Machakā-Sihavā with Mechka Sihāwā, South of Dhamtari, Bhramaravadra with Bhramarakūṭa, the old name of the central portion of Bastar,[2] Kāndāḍoṅgarawith the area South of Bindā-Nawāgaḍh Zamindāri and Kākayaradêśa is to be known the present Kāṅker. We may add that Kāntāra may denote the same land which is known as Mahākāntāra in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[3] and according to Dr.Hiralal, it lay somewhere near Sihāwā in the Dhamtari tahsil.[4] Kusumabhôga is, however, unidentified so far.

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1. पृथ्वीदेव नरेन्द्रस्य राज्ये चैवाधिकं कृतं ।
दुर्गमेषु महादुर्गं नीतं सरहरागढं ।।१५।।
तथापिमचकाहिवा च दुर्गं पुनः गृहीतं भ्रमरवद्र देशं ।
स्वबाहुना विक्रमं येन साधितं जगपाल नामारिपुगन्धहस्ती।।
कान्तारं कुसुमभोग कान्हाडोंगरमेव च।
देशं काकयरं वापि नीतं येनाथ लीलया।। १७ ।।

I.A., Vol.XVII, pp.137-40.

2. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.244.

3. Fleet - C.I.I., III, p.6 ff.
No.
Bhandarkar's List/1538.

4. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.38.

The identification of Kākayara with Kāṅker makes it possible that the Sômavaṁśī princes of Kāṅker, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1191 to 1320 A.D., may have been originally the feudatories of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.[1] Dr.Hiralal has fixed approximately the end of the 11th century or the beginning of 12th century A.D. as the probable date of Siṁharāja, the founder of the Sômavaṁśī dynasty of Kāṅker.[2] In his opinion, Jagapāladeva probably defeated Bôpadêva, father of Karṇarāja.[3] On the basis of the records of his descendants the period of Siṁharāja is calculated at circa 1064 A.D.

From Mahāmadpur inscription,[4] we came to know that Vallabharāja, who was associated with Ratnadeva (II) in his eastern conquests,[5] continued to play an important role in the reign of his successor i.e. Pṛithvīdeva II. Dr.D.R.Bhandarkar opines that the same inscription contains a reference to Akāladeva [6] who was probably an elder brother of Pṛithvīdeva.

A number of gold and copper coins are attributed to Pṛithvīdêva II. Smith has identified them with Pṛithvīdêva (II).[7]

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1. Ray, DHNI, Vol.II, p.811.
2. Hiralal, मध्यप्रदेश का इतिहास , p.67.
3. Ibid.
4. I.A., Vol.XX, pp.84-85.
5. Hiralal's Ins.in C.P. & Berar, 2nd Edition, p.121.
6. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.50.
7. Smith, Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Vol.I, p.254.
   and Numismatic Chronicle, 1939 p.298;
   Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, .1937,p.12.

His silver coins have also been reported.[1] Thus Pṛithvīdeva II is the only ruler in this dynasty, whose coins are found in all the three metals.

The conquests of Pṛithvīdêva added by his Ministers and feudatories enlarged the boundaries of his territories beyond Amarkaṇṭak and upto the Gôdāvarī river comprising an area of nearly 300 X 300 Sq.miles which was the largest,ever possessed by a Kalachuri King of Ratanpur.

The inscriptions of Pṛithvīdeva throw a valuable light on the personality of King. His main qualities are referred to in the Ḍaikonī plates.[2] The heads of his enemies were bowed down at his feet and the great rulers thought it their honour to serve him.[3] Excellences of the victorious Pṛithvīdeva (II) are said to be attractive. "He vanquished many warriors. Good people were always pleased by him. The royal panegyrists were granted lordly rutting elephants and the princes, who sought refuge on the battle-

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1. L.P.Pandeya, J.N.S.I., Vol.III, pp.41-42.
2. तस्यैष तनयो धात्रीं प्रसा (शा)स्ति नय संपदा ।
पृथ्वीदेवो महीपालो विसा ।शा। लोज्जल पौरुष ।।१२।।

Daikoni plates, E.I., Vol.XXVIII, pp.146-54.

3. पुत्रस्तस्यप्रथितमहिमासोऽभवद्भूपतीन्द्रः पृथ्वीदेवो रिपुनृपशिरः श्रेणि दत्तांह्रिपद्मः। यः श्रीगंगनृपतिकरोच्चक्रकोटोपमर्द्दोच्चिन्ताक्रान्तजलनिधि जलोल्लंघनैकाम्युपाये।।११

Bilaigaḍh plates of Pṛithvīdeva (II), C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.

field, were protected by the King."[1] Under his able rule, people were following the virtuous path of life and they were happy.[2] " The King possessed a vast territory and subdued the mighty hostile rulers outside his empire. He was like a high pleasure mount for the glory of victory of his own arm and also a tree for the creeping-plant fame of excellent royalty."[3] The praises are hyperbolic in nature, nevertheless, they throw a glimpse of the majestic personality of Pṛithvīdeva (II).

The last known date of Pṛithvīdeva (II) is dated 1163-64 A.D. in the Ratanpur inscription.[4] The next ruler who succeeded him, has a number of inscriptions which are dated K.E.919 that is 1168 A.D. It is probable, therefore, that Pṛithvīdeva II ruled till about 1165 A.D.

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1. संग्रामे कतिनो जिता भुजभृत: प्रीता न के सज्जना: केषां
द्वारि न वन्दिनां मदमुदा व ( च) द्धा महादन्तिन:।
सम्प्राप्ता: शरणं रणे कति न वा संरक्षिता: क्ष्माभुज:
पृथ्वीदेवमहीभुजो विजयिन: के के न रम्या गुणा: ।।१३।।

Koni Ins., E.I., Vol. XXVII, p.281.

2. राज्येभूमिभुजोऽस्यैव नयमार्ग्गानुसारिणि।
क्षीणोपसर्ग्गसं [illegible]सर्ग्गे प्रजानन्द विधायिनि। ७।

Ratanpur Ins. of V.E. 1207, E.I., Vol.I, pp.45-52.

3. पृथ्वीदेवस्ततोऽभूद्बलवदरि धरानाथ नागेन्द्रं तार्क्ष्यो नम्राणां
मौलिरत्नद्युति भरविलसन्मल्लिका माल्य भारै: । पूज्यांह्रि द्वंद्व पद्मो
निज भुज विजय श्रीमहाकेलिशैल: पुत्र: सत्क्षात्रकीर्तिव्रततितरुरिला
मण्डला भोग भर्ता ।।५।।

4. Ratanpur Ins. of K.E.915, E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255-67.

# CHAPTER V

## PERIOD OF DECLINE AND FALL

### JĀJALLADEVA (II)

The earliest inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II's son and successor Jājalladeva II is dated 1188 A.D. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the latter came to the throne about 1165 A.D. The following inscriptions of his reign have been discovered:-

(1) Śeôrīnārāyan stone inscription of the year 919 = 1168 A.D., giving the genealogy of a collateral branch.[1] The inscription is built into the plinth of the temple of Chandrachūḍêśvara and is much damaged by a part of the slab having peeled off. With usual list upto Jājalladeva II, the inscription gives interesting data in respect of the collateral princes of the Kalachuri dynasty.

This inscription was composed by Kumārapāla, descendant of Sahasrārjuna race. The proper object of the inscription is a grant of the village Chiñchôlī ( the present Chicholī, 25 miles west of Śeôrīnārāyan), by the composer himself to the god Chandrachūḍa ( Śiva).

(2) Malhār inscription of the year 919 = 1167-68 A.D., recording the erection of a temple of the god Kêdāra at the town of Mallāla(evidently the modern Mallār), by Brāhmaṇa Sômarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara, who came to Tuṁmāṇadêśa from the village of Kumbhaṭī in Madhyadêśa. The inscription was composed by Ratnasiṁha, the son of Māmê of the Vāstavya race. The date in the Kalachuri Saṁvat 919, is recorded at the end.[2]

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1. PRAS., W.C., 1903-04, p.52 and 53; C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.519-527.
2. E.I., Vol.I, pp.39-45.

Gaṅgādhara was also honoured with the gift of the village Kosambī, made by Ratnadeva II.

(3) Amodā plates of the year 919 = 1168 A.D., recording the grant of Bunderā village (modern Bundelā in the Jānjgir tahsil, situated about 13 miles from Amodā) to the astrologer Rāghava and the royal priest Nāmadeva. The grant was written by a Vāstavya Kāyastha named Chitrabhānu in Saṁvat, 919.[1]

The Amodā plates are an unusual record, so far as the purpose of the grant is concerned. Generally the royal grants are made for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of the royal family[2] or to show some special favour to the donee. But the Amodā plates were issued to the Brāhmaṇas, on the day, the King was saved from a powerful enemy, named Dhīrū.

Dhīrū has been compared with the Yaksha. Dr.Hiralal thinks that Dhiru was a non-Āryan chief and it appears that a local aboriginal chief rebelled against Jājalladeva (II) and put him into a precarious position.[3] It is, however, certain that the King was not attacked by any traditional enemy of the Kalachuris (such as the Eastern Gaṅgas) and it was not an invasion from outside, but a rebellion within the State, which was extinguished successfully by the royal arms.

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.209-214.
2. मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

   Amodā plates of Prithvideva I, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.80.
3. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.210.

In the Śeôrīnārāyan stone inscription,[1] it is stated that Pṛithvīdeva (I) had a younger brother named Sarvadeva. He got Soṇṭhiva ( the present Soṇṭhi, 20 miles north of Śeôrīnārāyan) as a share of patrimony, and settled there. He built at Soṇṭhiva a temple of Śiva and a lake and laid out an orchard there. Sarvadeva's son Rājadeva, built at Patharīā ( 16 miles S.E. of Śeôrīnārāyan) a temple of Śiva, a lake and laid out an orchard. Rājadeva had 4 sons, viz., Têjalladeva, Ulhaṇadeva, Gopāladeva and Vikaṇṇadeva. Gopāladeva had a son Amānadeva, who was loved by the King Jājalladeva as his own son.

A queen Rambhallā of the same house is said to have constructed a tank at Vaṇārī (identifiable with Banāri, 25 miles north of Śeôrīnārāyan)and at Pajanī (probably Pachrī, one of four villages bearing that name in the Jānjgir tahsil), she grew a mango grove.

The Śeôrīnārāyan stone inscription contains an important reference to the defeat of a Chedi ruler and afterwards the death of a prince, whose three queens became Satis with him, is also mentioned. But other details are lost owing to the stone having broken away. Possibly this defeat of Chedi ruler would have taken place in the reign of Ratnadeva (II), who, in the Ratanpur inscription of the Vikrama year 1207, is said to have been the' fierce submarine fire to (dry up)

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1. Hiralal's Inscriptions in C.P.& Berar, 2nd Edition, No.203, p.122.

the unique sea of the host of the army of the Chedi King.[1]

In the Malhār stone inscription,[2] Jajalladeva (II) is stated to'be the leader of the princes who took delight in keeping up the Chedi family'and this shows a friendlier spirit of the present ruler towards his Chedi descent. He'by the pride of his two massive arms, annihilated the enemies and acquired fortune by his heroism, the ruler of Tummāṇa was a unique treasury of excellent royalty and he was illumining like a lamp his own spotless family.'[3]

Although the reign of Jājalladeva (II) is said to have been free from the contact of troubles,[4] but the facts show that the troubles did not spare, even the same year when the Malhār inscription was inscribed up and the Amodā plates state that he escaped from the great calmity, when he lost his

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1. तस्माच्चेदिनरेन्द्रदुर्दमचमूचक्रैकवारांनिधेस्तीर्त्वाव्वैज्वलनो जनिष्ट तनय:
श्रीरत्नदेवो नृप:।

Ratanpur Ins. of V.E. 1207, E.I., Vol.I, pp.45-52.

2. E.I., Vol.I, pp.40 ff.

3. तस्माच्चेदि कुलाब्जन युषा मग्रेसरो भूभुजां दोर्दण्डद्वयदर्पखण्डित रिपु
ज्जाजिल्लदेवोऽभवत् । तुम्माणाधिपतिर्निजामलकुल-प्रद्योत-दीपोपम:
सत्त्वाक्रैकनिधि: प्रतापतरणि :शौर्याज्जितश्रीनृप:।६।

- E.I., Vol.I, pp.39 ff.

4. राज्यैमहीभुजस्तस्य नय वर्त्मानुसारिणि।
क्षीणोपसर्गे संसर्गे प्रजानन्द विधायिनि।।८४।

E.I., Vol.I, pp.40 ff.

Kingdom in a battle with Dhīrū.[1] Thus, there is every reason to believe that in the reign of Jājalladeva (II), the empire's growth was put to check and its progress was on the wane. In fact, the stability of the Kalachuri empire, which was attained by the former three rulers, was once again disturbed and it proved disastrous for the future.

Jājalladeva (II) could not rule for long. In the Kharod inscription, there occurs a passage that on the death of Jajalladeva (II), the whole world plunged into darkness.[2] The passage suggests a suspicion of an unexpected death to Jājalladeva (II). What was the reason of his death, in our present state of knowledge, it is very difficult to ascertain. His reign was shortlived and it probably ended near about A.D.1170.

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.213.
2. अथकिल [ह] तदैवाद्राज्ञि जाजल्लदेवे कलचुरिकुलचन्द्रे
व्र(ब्र) ह्मसायुज्यमाप्ते । [जग ] दिदम[पराकं]सर्व्वतोधा[न्धकारं
कलि] कलितविवेक व्यस्तलोकम्ब (म्ब ) भूव ।।

Kharod Ins., E.I., Vol.XXI, p.164.

## JAGADDEVA.

Jājalladeva (II), was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva. The Kharod inscription says, " After him (i.e. Jājalladeva (II) ) his elder brother, Jagaddeva, of unique prowess, came straight from the eastern country and became the lord of the Kingdom."[1] No plausible explanation is possible as to why Jagaddeva did not become king after the death of his father Pṛithvīdeva(II). Dr.N.P.Chakravarti suggests that he was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladeva (II) took the reins of the government in his own hands.[2] It is already known that Jājalladeva's death took place suddenly[3] and that was the reason why Jagaddeva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government. In the Peṇḍrābandh plates,[4] Jagaddeva is said to have succeeded his father Pṛithvīdeva (II) and no mention is made of Jājalladeva (II).

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1. ज्यायनस्य जगद्देवस्ततः प्राग्देशतोऽञ्जसा ।
समेत्य राज्याधिपतिर्व्वं (र्व्व) भूयाद्भुत विक्रमः ।।१३।।

E.I., Vol.XXI, p.164.

2. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.162.

3. Kharod Ins., Verse 12.

4. E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-8.

Mr.Ghosh suggests 'the possibility of some court intrigue, as a result of which Jagaddeva had to remain satisfied with some eastern districts or had to live in exile during the life time of his younger brother'.[1] But in the record of Jagaddeva's own son, deep sorrow is expressed at the death of his father's supposed adversary and this clearly proves that those relations were friendly with each other. In fact, the eastern boundary of the Kingdom was unsafe on account of traditional enmity with the Eastern Gaṅgas. There were other forest tribes which were a source of constant trouble to the Kalachuri power from eastern side. Jagaddeva, therefore, thought it wise to remain in the eastern part of the Kingdom in order to consolidate it, It was at his own instance that his younger brother, Jājalladeva (II) came to throne. In this way, Jagaddeva hastened to the headquarters only when Jājalladeva met with an unexpected death and the throne was empty.

Prof.Mirashi[2] identifies this King with King Jagaddeva glorified in the Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati.[3]

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1. Ghosh, Amalananda - D.R.Bhandarkar Volume, p.273.

2. Mirashi, E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

3. Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati, V.1261,
(Bombay Sanskrit Series 1888, p.207). The verse is:

स्वस्ति क्षात्रिय देवाय जगद्देवाय भूभुजे ।
यद्यशः पुण्डरीकांतर्गगनं भ्रमरायते ।।

The King is said to have fought with many Kings.[1] His reign was free from troubles and it ensured security of life.[2] Jagaddeva's queen was Somalladêvī.[3] A mutilated Amarkaṇṭak inscription mentions the name of Somalladêvī.[4]

The earliest record of his son and successor, Ratnadeva (III) is dated in the year 933 - 1181-82 A.D. His reign, therefore, come to an end by about 1180 A.D.

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## RATNADEVA (III)

Ratnadeva (III), the son of Jagaddeva by his queen Somalladêvī[5], succeeded his father in circa 1180 A.D. The Kharod inscription[6] is the only record for the reign of this King. This

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1. प्रचंडाखंड भूपाल युद्धकंडूतिखंडन:
जगद्देवो भवत स्मान्नृपशार्दूलविक्रम:।।११।।

Peṇḍrābandh plates, E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-8.

2. चौरैर -- पं प्रयातम ---- मै: [प्रभिन्नं] ------- द[री]कोणे[रि]भि: संस्थितम्। तस्मिन्शौर्यं [वि] लासदानरसिकैराज्यस्थिते भूप[तौ] [व्या] घ्रदिप्यधि [कांव] नै [न] कुरुते भीतिजंन: पर्यटन् ।१४ ।।

3. लक्ष्मीसि मुरारते रतिवत्पुष्पमन्वन:।
राज्ञ: सोमल्लदेवी [ति] -------- भवत्।।१५।।

4. I.A., Vol.XXII, p.83, fn.14.

5. पुत्रस्ताभ्यां (तयोरु) त्रिदशवनितागीतकीर्त्ति: पृथिवामासीदाशाकुहर विहरच्चारुकीर्त्तिप्रतान:।---
वित्तीकृतसुरतरु: संगरोद्दाम [वै] रि-----[श्री]----पदयितो[रत्न] देव: प्रवीर : ।।१६।।

6. E.I., Vol.XXI, pp.159-65.

inscription is dated in the Kalachuri year 933, which regularly corresponds to 1181-82 A.D. The initial portion of the record gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuris upto Ratnadeva(III). The other part gives the pedigree of one Gaṅgādhara, the Prime Minister of Ratnadeva (III). His various charitable deeds are mentioned afterwards. The inscription was composed by one Kumārapāla of the Haihaya race. This Kumārapāla is probably identical with Kalachuri Kumārapāla, who similarly composed the Śeôrīnārāyan[1] and Mallār[2] inscriptions. Kumārapāla of the Kharod inscription seems to have had a younger brother named Jalhaṇa(?) He himself wrote the prasasti on the slab and Nātū, who was clever in this art, engraved it afterwards. A part of the inscription was composed by Śreṣṭhin Ralhaṇa.

Another Sahaspur Statue inscription[3] of the year 934 =1182 A.D., enlogises one Yasôrāja, who appears to have been a feudatory of the Ratanpur Kings and was probably one of the Nāgavaṁśī Kings.[4]

The Kharod inscription says:- ' When the treasuries were exhausted, armies were dwindled and the Janapada was in the grip of famine, Gaṅgādhara, who was appointed Prime Minister by the King Ratnadeva (III), brought back the seven-fold prosperity to

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1. Hiralal, Ins.in C.P. & Berar (2nd Edition) p.122.
2. E.I., Vol.I, pp.39 ff.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.XVIII, pp.43-44.
4. MaṇḍavāMahal Inscription, Hiralal-Ins. in C.P. & Berar, 2nd Edition, No.305, pp.174-77.

the Kingdom.[1] By his advice, he is said to have enabled the King to free the land from the enemies.[2]

Mr.Ghosh thinks that Gaṅgādhara is the same individual to whom Ratnadeva (III) had given a village while still a prince.[3] But the scrutiny of the record shows that the former donee was of the Kṛishṇātrêya-gôtra and, while Gaṅgādhara of the Kharod inscription was of the Kāśyapa-gôtra. They are therefore not identical, and the suggestion of Mr.Ghosh is not acceptable.

Gaṅgādhara, seeing the life, wealth and love transitory on this earth, exerted himself for piety.[4] He is said to have built a temple of 'Śiva',[5] which is evidently identical with the Lakhnêśvar temple at Kharod, where the inscription is found. To the South of this temple, he constructed a maṭha made of

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1. कोशेनाशमुपागते गजव (ब) ले क्षीणेऽतिरिणे जने दुर्भिक्षोपहतिं गते जनपदे दीनां दशामाश्रिते [येनो च्चैः] पदमापदां----- श्री रत्नदेव [प्रभौ राज्यं] मं [दव (ब) ला] --- कृत पुनः सप्तांग संपूर्णताम्।। २५।।

2. यस्यमंत्रेण सर्व्वत्र निर्जिताराति मंडलः।
श्रीरत्नदेवभूपालश्चक्रे राज्यमकण्टकम् ।। २६ ।।

3. Mallār Ins., E.I., Vol.I, pp.39-45; Ghosh, DKBV, p.273.

4. आलोक्यानेन विद्युत्ततितरलतरासारतारुण्य [श्रीं] लक्ष्मीम--मेवं च [जि] तमृगदृशां प्रीतिम [प्य] ंगनानाम।------ का[ स] ये [तत्पुन] रिह सुकृते [ ई ] ष्ट --- प्त वो ( बो ) धादेतच्चक्रे नवीनं सहज शुभ-मतिर्मंडपं भूतभर्त्तुः॥ ३०।।

5. Kharod Ins., V.30, E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.

well seasoned wood for the ascetics.[1] In the Śivarīnārāyaṇa Māhātmya,[2] the said maṭha has been identified with the present day maṭha, situated in the North-West of the Śeôrīnārāyan temple. He also built, evidently, at the same place, a beautiful maṇḍapa for Sáuri(Vishṇu).[3]

On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, Gaṅgādhara constructed a temple of Ēkavīrā,[4] which resembled a Pushpaka.[5] In the fortress (durga), he built a temple for the goddess Durgā[6] and to the north of Ratnapura, he built a temple[7] for Ṭuṇṭā ( = Ḍhuṇḍhi ?) - Gaṇapati.[8]

In the forest of Vaḍada ( vanêvaḍadā ), he is said to have built a maṇḍapa for Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇêśa.[9] According to Hiralal, Vanavaṇḍa or Vana-Vaḍada as read by Dr.Chakravarti may be present Balôdā, 5 miles from Kharod, where some traces of old temples have been found.[10]

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1. मठकठोरकाष्ठौघैरत्रैवाकारि धीमता। देवदक्षिणदिग्भागे निवासार्थन्तपस्विनाम् ।। ३१ ।।

2. Śivarīnārāyaṇa Māhātmya, p.4.
3. Kharod Ins., E.I., Vol.XXI., V.32, p.165.
4. Ibid. V.33, p.165.
5. P.K.Acharya, Indian Architecture (Allahabad,1927)pp.113-4.
6. Kharod Ins., E.I., Vol.XXI, V.35, p.165.
7. Ibid. V.36, p.165.
8. Ḍhuṇḍhi Ganapati, श्रीतत्वनिधि, वेंकटेश्वरप्रेस, बम्ब° । Śaka 1823.
9. Kharod Ins., V.34, E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.
10. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.196.

He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (Ravi) at a place[1] the name of which is not clear and erected a Śiva temple at Poratha,[2] which is 30 miles North-East of Kharod.

He had tanks excavated in the villages Tipuraga (?), Girahalī (?), Uluvā (probably Ulba in Raipur district) and Sêṇā-[da(?]rā (identified with present Sendri[3] between Bilaspur and Ratanpur). Besides these pious deeds, Gaṅgādhara raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura (20 miles South-West of Kharod) and also a public almshouse (Sarva-satrī) abounding in sweets and drink.[4]

Śreshṭhin Ralhaṇa was the minister incharge of religious endowments (Dharmakarmādhikārin)[5].

The peṇḍrābandh plates[6] of his son, call him Ratnarāja and he is praised for his traditional glory and bravery.[7]

V.Smith ascribes some coins bearing the legend Ratnadeva preserved in the Indian Museum, to Ratnadeva (III).[8]

The earliest record of Ratnadeva III's son, Pratāpamalladeva is dated in 1214 A.D., when he was still young. His(Ratnadeva III's) reign probably came to an end in circa 1205 A.D.

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1. Kharod Ins., E.I., Vol.XXI, V.35 p.165 (the place read as Paha [take(?)Pura]).
2. Ibid, V.35, p.165.
3. Ibid, V.V.37-39, p.165.
4. Ibid, V.40, p.165.
5. Ibid, V.44, p.165.
6. E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-8.
7. 'तत्पुत्रश्चित्रकीर्तिः सकलकलचुरिक्ष्माभुजां भूषणश्रीः श्रीमानुत्फुल्लमल्ली निकरनिभयसो [शो] रासि [शि] भिर्व्याप्त विस्वः [श्वः] आशी (सी) दाशी (सी) मभूमीवलयपरिवृढप्रौढदोः कांडलीलानिर्द्धूतासे (शे) षवैरिक्षितिपतिनिवहो भूपती रत्नराज' ।।१२।।

-E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1 ff.

8. V.Smith, Cat.of Coins in Ind.Mus., Vol.I, p.255.

## PRATĀPAMALLADEVA.

Pratāpamalladeva succeeded his father Ratnadeva III in circa 1205. Only two copper-plates of his reign have been discovered:

(1) Peṇḍrābandh plates[1] of the year 965 = 1214 A.D. recording the grant of the village Kāyaṭhā (modern Kaiṭā, 14 miles almost due west of Peṇḍrābandh and about 4 miles beyond the Southern limit of the Jānjgir tahsil) in the Anargha-maṇḍala on the day of the Makara-Saṁkrānti to Brāhmaṇa Sādhāra of the Pārāśara-gôtra and the three pravaras. The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 7th January, 1214 A.D. The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Palasadā (probably present Parsodi about 1 mile to the north of Kaiṭā).[2] The plates were written by Pratirāja, who was born in a Gauḍa family and was the Chief of the Karaṇa or Record Office.

(2) Bilaigaḍh plates[3] of the year 969 = 1218 A.D recording the gift of the village Siralā (identified with SiroḷI in the Jānjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District) to the Brāhmaṇa Haridāsa of the Sāṅkṛitā-gôtra on the occasion of a lunar-eclipse in the month of Āshāḍha. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 9th July, 1218 A.D. Prof.V.V.Mirashi thinks that the lunar eclipse occurred on the 24th June, 1218 A.D.[4] The plates were written by the same Pratirāja, who

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1. E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-8.
2. ' पलसदासमावासिविजयस्कटको।
3. E.I., Vol.XXIX, Part IV, pp.97-104.
4. Mirashi, C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.549-554.

wrote the Peṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalladeva. The Bilaigaḍh plates are the last record of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, discovered so far.

Some scholars identify Pratāpamalla with Pratāpasiṁhadêva of the traditional list of the Haihaya-vaṁśī Kings of Ratanpur.[1]

The Peṇḍrābandh plates describe that Pratāpamalla, though a boy, was a second Bali in strength.[2] It shows that he came to throne in his young age. The King is said to have defeated many kings and this is corroborated by the fact that he made his land grant from the victorious camp at Palasadā. His virtues or noble qualities are also described in a conventional praise.[3]

The copper coins of Pratāpamalladêva have been discovered at Balpur in the Bilaspur District. The coins bear the legend "Pratāpamalladêva" on the obverse and a lion on the reverse.[4] His gold and silver coins, however, are not found.

Pratāpamalladêva seems to be the last ruler of the Ratanpur Kalachuris. How long did he continue to reign, is very difficult to surmise. His Bilaigaḍh plates give 1218 A.D. as the last date of his charitable deeds, possibly he must have ruled for sometime more.

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1. GHOSH, DRBV, p.275.

2. मत्यामहत्या महतीं महीस: (श:) प्रतापमल्लो जगदेकमल्ल:।
पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व ( ब) लेन वा(बा)लो ऽपि व(ब)लि-
द्वितीय: । १४।।

3. पुत्रस्तस्ययसो ( शो)ब्धि लोललहरीनिर्द्धूतदिग्मंडलोमूर्त्या निर्ज्जितमन्मथ:
समभवत श्री (च्छ्री) मत्प्रतापो नृप:। भूपालाग्रणवसो (शो) षणे
मुनिरसौ क्ष्मापालचूड़ामणिर्दीनेवंदिजने द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि
चिन्तामणि: ।।१३ ।।

E.I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

4. L.P.Pandeya - I.H.Q., Vol.III, p.173.

## The later Kalachuri Kings of Ratanpur.

After Pratāpamalladeva, the genealogy of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur abruptly ceases. We have no records of the successors of Pratāpmalladeva, whose last available copper-plate charter[1] is dated in the year 1218 A.D. The manuscript history[2] of Ratanpur Kings, however, runs the traditional list upto the middle of the 18th century and it shows that the dynasty continued without any gap between Pratāpamalladeva[3] and the later princes of the Ratanpur branch. We do not come across any epigraphic evidence till the close of the fifteenth century A.D. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats sustained by the Kosala Kings at the hands of their adversaries, but the names of the vanquished are seldom mentioned. In the 'Rājaprasasti' of Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa[4], it is stated that the Yādava King Simhaṇa took away troops of

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1. Bilaigadh plates published in E.I., Vol.XXIX, pp.97-104.
2. 'Manuscript history of Ratanpura', by Bābū Rêvārāma Kāyastha of Ratanpur was presented to East India Company in 1858 by the author himself. The second copy of the manuscript, after being much used, was recopied by Ṭhākur Dhanīrām Singh Varmā of Ratanpur in 1916 A.D. I have been able to procure a manuscript copy of it by the courtesy of Shri G.S.Rathor'Shyām' of Bilaspur.
3. According to Manuscript history of Ratnapura, there was no King of the name of Pratāpamalladeva.A King Bhānusimha, whose reign approximately falls in the period of Pratāpamalladeva is, however, mentioned in the list.
4. Sir R.G.Bhandarkar: 'The Early History of the Deccan', APP.C. Rājaprasasti 1, collected works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol.III, p.195.

rutting elephants belonging to the King Jajjalla, deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna, (who was probably the sovereign of Mālwā) and made Bhôja a prisoner.[1] Simhaṇa is known to have ascended the throne in C.1210 A.D.[2] He was succeeded by his grandson, Kṛishṇa in 1247 A.D.[3] Sir R.G.Bhandarkar concludes that 'Jajjalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh[4]. Another Pāṭaṇā inscription,[5] of the time of the Yādava Simhaṇa and his feudatories dated in 1206 A.D., mentions that ' the rulers of Mathurā and Kāśī were struck down by him and by whose young dependent even the valorous Haimmīra was defeated'[6]. A find [7] of three gold coins of the Yādava King Simhaṇa, along with a mohar of Delhi Sultan Nasiru-d-dīn Mahmūd I, who reigned between 1246 and 1266 A.D., in the village Parsadih, 13 miles from the Kharsiā Railway Station of Raigarh district, suggests that Southern Kosala passed through some influence of

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1. 'येनानीयत मत्तवारण घटाजंजत भूमिभृत:।
कक्कूलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रिय:।।
येनद्दाोणिभृदर्जुनौ पि बलिनानीत: कथाशेषतां।
येनोद्दामभुजेन भौजनृपति: काराकुटुम्बीकृत:'।।

2. J.R.A.S., Vol.IV, p.5; Collected Works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol.III, p.150

3. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XII, p.42.

4. Collected Works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol.III, p.151.

5. E.I., Vol.I, pp.338-346.

6. 'पृथ्वीशौ मथुराधिपौ रणमुखे काशीपति: पातित:।
येना सावपि यस्य मृत्यबटुना हम्मीरवीरो जित:'।।

7. Dr.Altekar, A.S. - A New Find of Gold Coins in Raigarh State, J.N.S.I., Vol.VIII, p.147-151, Pl.X.

the Yādavas in the 13th century A.D. It seems probable that the Yādava King Simhaṇa led an expedition to North and he subdued the contemporary Kosala King along with the rulers of Kāśī, Mathurā and Mālwā. The Chikka Sakkanna inscription[1] of the Yādava Kings further claims that ' the dominion of the King Jājalladeva was occupied by Simhaṇa'[2]. Thus the evidences collected from Hemādri and Yādava inscriptions make it clear that the contemporary rulers of Southern Kosala, who undoubtedly were the Kalachuri Kings of Ratanpur, along with other dynasties of Central India came in conflict with the Yādava rulers, namely Simhaṇa and the latter's grandson, Kṛishṇa. Relying on these evidences, Prof.Mirashi thinks that the said Jājalla must have succeeded Pratāpamalladeva[3]. In his opinion, Jājalla may have been succeeded by that Kosala King, who is said to have been defeated by Simhaṇa's grandson Kṛishṇa.[4] Prof.Altekar, however, suggests two possibilities, either Pṛithvīdeva III[5], may have been succeeded by Jājalladeva III, or it may be that in C.1270 A.D., when Hemādri composed his eulogy, there was no definite information at Devagiri about the name of the Eastern Chedi King

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1. Annual Report of Mysore Archaeological Survey, 1929,p.148.
2. 'चाणीवल्लभजाजल्लदेवकरिघटासंघट्टनदुर्धरराज्यहरः।'
3. Mirashi, C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.cXXX.
4. The Purushôttamapurī plates of the Yādava Rāmachandra have been referred to by Prof.Mirashi in his C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.CXXXI.
5. The Peṇḍrābandh and Bilaigaḍh plates have established it for ever that Ratnadeva III was succeeded by Pratāpamalladeva instead of Pratāpa Simha III.

defeated by Simhaṇa about six decades ago.[1] Like Kôkalladeva of the Tripurī house, the name of Jājalladeva was also closely associated with the Chedi dynasty of Southern Kosala, and Hemādri may have thought it proper to introduce this dynasty with the name of King Jājalladeva. Thus the names of Kakkula and Jājalla should not be taken to mean the contemporary Kings of Chedi and Southern Kosala, as no king of the name of Kôkalla was ruling at Tripurī in the 13th century and similarly in want of corroborating facts no reliance is possible on the suggestion that Jājalla was the contemporary King of the Yādava Simhaṇa in Southern Kosala. A Bhuvanêśvara inscription[2] gives us the name of King Paramardi or Paramādi of the Haihaya-vaṁśa, who married Chandrikā, the daughter of the Eastern Gaṅga King Anaṅga Bhīma II (C.1211-38 A.D.)[3]. The Chāṭêśvara inscription of the Gaṅga princes tells that his Brāhmaṇa minister fought with the Lord of Tuṁmāṇa.[4] These inscriptional evidences from the Eastern part of the country show that there was no King of the name of Jājalla among the contemporary Haihaya Kings of Tuṁmāṇa. It is not unlikely that the Haihaya King Parmardi was the ruler of Tuṁmāṇa, who was at first the enemy and then the son-in-law of Anaṅga Bhīma II. In the present state of our knowledge,

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1. Dr.Altekar, A.S. , J.N.S.I., Vol.VIII, p.150.

2. E.I., Vol.XIII, pp.150-55.

3. हैहयवंशावतंसः परमर्दी सज्ज सारा (ता) रूपः।
तारापतिमातिशेते पतिरस्याः समरपारीणः॥
गीतज्ञालयतालनर्तनिकलाकौशल्यलीलालया वात्स्यादच्युतभक्तिभवितमति-
र्दत्तानुरूपक्रिये।
पित्राहैहयवंशजाय शुचये चन्द्राय [-] चन्द्रिका पुत्रीयं परमार्डि नाम भजते
क्षात्राय रत्नन्विता॥ १६ ॥

4. J.A.S.B., Vol.LXVII, 1898, pp.317-27; Ibid, 1903,p.119; and also DHNI, Vol.I, pp.477-78.

however, it is impossible to connect him with the main line of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur[1].

The discovery of the coins of Simhaṇa and Nasiru-d-dīn Mahmūd makes Dr.Altekar believe that the Eastern Chedi rule had practically come to an end by the beginning of the 13th century A.D., and it is also possible that after the defeat of Jājalla III, the Yādavas may have occupied a portion of the Kingdom for a few decades. The learned scholar thinks that it must have been during this period of occupation that gold coins of the conqueror began to circulate in Chhattisgarh.[2] The Muslim coin further gives rise to the idea that it was during Nasiru-d-dīn's rule that the Yādavas had to evacuate the territory owing to the pressure of the Muslim advance. The Pāṭanā inscription also claims that a petty general of Simhaṇa defeated a Muslim general and this incident in Prof.Altekar's opinion may refer to some conflicts of such kind between the two powers in Chhattisgarh.[3] As the next available records of the Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh are found in the 15th century, it is plausible to think that the Ratanpur dominion atleast passed through difficult times if it was not permanently occupied by the Yādava or the Muhammadans. The manuscript history gives all the names of Ratanpur Kings in tact from Bhānu Simha to the last ruler Raghunāthasimha and this fact suggests that no King of the Ratanpur house was ever dethroned by the conquering dynasties and that they continued to rule without any break towards the middle of the 18th century A.D.

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1. Ray, H.C.- DHNI., Vol.II, p.815.
2. J.N.S.I., Vol.VIII, p.150.
3. Ibid. Vol.VIII, p.151.

The next epigraphic records are found in the reign of King Vāharendra, apparently Bāharsāi, who flourished in the last quarter of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century A.D. The Ratanpur Mahāmāyā Temple inscription,[1] of the year 1495 A.D., mentions that the King appointed one Gôvinda as his Governor in Ratnapura. It shows that Vāharendra had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to Kôsaṅga (modern Kosgain village, 60 miles from Bilaspur), where he built a fort and left an inscription. The Kosgain inscription[2] provides us with the genealogy of Vāharendra. The first known King of this pedigree was Siṅghaṇa whose son was Dhīra[3] or Ḍaṅghīra[4]. The latter's son was Madanaprahman, from whom was born Rāmachandra. Rāmchandra had two sons - Ratnasena and Hariśchandra. Ratnasena married Guṇḍāyī but he died without an issue and he was succeeded by Vāharendra, son of Prince Hariśchandra. The Kosgain inscription speaks of a victory of the King over Paṭhāns and this incident shows that Vāharendra's reign was not peaceful, as he had frequent Skirmishes with the Muslims. The Ratanpur Mahāmāyā Temple inscription and the Kosgain stone inscription furnish Saṁvat 1552 (1494-95 A.D.) and Saṁvat 1570( 1513 A.D.), as two definite dates for Vāharendra. On the basis of these dates, his reign may be assigned to a period between 1485 A.D and 1515 A.D.

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1. Mirashi - C.I.I, Vol.IV,pp.554-57; Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.209, p.126.
2. Mirashi- C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.563-68; Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.210, p.126.
3. Dr.Hiralal reads the word as 'Dhīra'.
4. Prof.Mirashi reads Singhana's son as 'Ḍaṅghīra'.

We have no other record for the Ratanpur Kings. It appears that in the fourteenth century A.D., the dynasty divided itself into two branches, the main branch remaining at Ratanpur, while the second one established itself in Raipur. One of the princes of the collateral branch at Raipur, Haribrahmadeva or Brahmadeva has left two inscriptions of the early fifteenth century A.D. His Raipur ( Friday, the 10th February, 1402 A.D)[1] and Khalāri ( the 19th January, 1415 A.D.)[2] inscriptions mention four generations saying that there was a great prince Lakshmīdêva at Rāyapura (Raipur). His son was Simhaṇa and the latter's son was Rāmachandra. Rāmachandra's son was Harirāyabrahma or Haribrahmadeva. Haribrahma had his capital at Khalvāṭikā, which has been identified with the present Khalāri, 45 miles to the South-east of Raipur[3]. The Khalāri inscription further tells that Rāmadeva ( or Rāmachandra), the father of Brahmadeva, defeated Bhôṇiṅgadêva who belonged to the Phaṇivaṁśa or Nāga dynasty.[4]

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1. I.A., Vol.XXII, p.83; A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.77; Mirashi -C.I.I. Vol.IV, pp.569-575; Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P.& Berar , No.180, p.109.
2. E.I.,Vol.II, pp.228-31; Mirashi - C.I.I.,Vol.IV, pp.575-579; Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.179, p.108.
3. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.296.
4. अभवदथ निपालस्तत्सुतो रामदेव: समरशिरसि धीरोयेन भोणिगंदेव:।
मणि रिवफणि वंशस्या हत: कोप दृष्ट्या तरुण तरणि तेज: पंजराजत्प्रताप:।।

- E.I., Vol.II, pp.228 ff.

The defeated Nāga family seems to have been the Nāga rulers of former Bastar State. There was another Nāga family established in Kawardhā, but the Maṇḍavā Mahal inscription[1] states that the Nāga chiefs of Kawardhā were matrimonially connected with the Haihaya dynasty. They were very probably the feudatories of the Kalachuris, as they used the Kalachuri era in earlier times.[2]

Prof.Mirashi[3] thinks that Simhaṇa, the grandfather of Haribrahmadeva was identical with Singhaṇa, mentioned in the Kosgain inscription of Vāharendra. Both the houses were ruling in the same period, for Brahmadeva was ruling at Raipur and Khalāri in Vikrama Saṁvat 1458 (1402 A.D.) and V.1471 (1415 A.D).[4]

We have no further information about Haribrahmadeva or his successors. The Khalāri inscription vaguely mentions that Haribrahmadeva won victories over his enemies and made charitable deeds.[5] The manuscript history preserves two lists of Kings, who ruled at Ratanpur and Raipur simultaneously. The manuscript history shows that Vīrasimhadeva, the 8th prince of the Ratanpur house after Pṛithvideva III in Saṁvat 1467 = 1410 A.D. gave Raipur to his younger brother Kêśavadeva and from him the Raipur dynasty arose, which continued to rule upto the time of Amara-

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1. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.305, pp.174-77.
2. Chhapri Stone Inscription of Gôpāladeva, Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.304, p.174.
3. Mirashi - C.I.I., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.CXXXI.
4. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.51.
5. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुहंता जगति विजयते चन्द्रचूडस्य भक्तः
श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि मृगदृशामुद्भटानां कृतान्तः।
सर्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदमरतरुर्व्याप्तिः पंडितानां
गीतज्ञानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्री हरिब्र(ह्म)देवः॥ ६॥

simhadeva, whose Ārang plate is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1792 (1735 A.D.). Both Cunningham[1] and Dr.Hiralal[2] have taken these lists as authentic records and have given approximate dates to these rulers. We have in all 26 Kings for the Ratanpur branch and 17 rulers for the Raipur throne in the following manner:-

| S.No. | Name of the ruler. | Period of reign according to Cunningham. | Year in A.D. according to Cunningham. | Year in A.D. according to Dr.Hiralal. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bhānusimha | 39 years. | 1182 | 1200 |
| 2 | Narsimhadeva | 30 years. | 1221 | 1221 |
| 3 | Bhūsimhadeva | 25 years. | 1251 | 1251 |
| 4 | Pratāpasimhadeva | 43 years. | 1276 | 1276 |
| 5 | Jayasimhadeva | 28 years. | 1319 | 1319 |
| 6 | Dharmasimhadeva | 22 years. | 1347 | 1347 |
| 7 | Jagannāthasimhadeva | 38 years. | 1369 | 1369 |
| 8 | VIrasimhadeva | 19 years | 1407 | 1407 |
| 9 | Kamaladeva | | 1426 | 1426 |
| 10 | Śaṅkara Sahāi | | 1436 | 1436 |
| 11 | Môhana Sahāi | | 1454 | 1454 |
| 12 | Dādū Sahāi | | 1472 | 1472 |
| 13 | Purushôttama Sahāi | | 1497 | 1497 |
| 14 | Bāhara Sahāi or Vāharendra | | 1519 | 1519 |
| 15 | Kalyāṇa Sahāi | | 1546 | 1546 |
| 16 | Lakshmaṇa Sahāi | | 1583 | 1583 |
| 17 | Śaṅkara Sahāi | | 1591 | 1591 |
| 18 | Kumuda or Mukunda Sahāi | 11 years. | 1606 | 1606 |
| 19 | Tribhuvana Sahāi | 15 years. | 1617 | 1617 |
| 20 | Jagamôhana Sahāi | 13 years. | 1632 | 1632 |
| 21 | Aditi Sahāi | 14 years. | 1645 | 1645 |
| 22 | Raṇajīta Sahāi | 26 years. | 1659 | 1659 |
| 23 | Takhtasimha | 14 years. | 1685 | 1685 |
| 24 | Rāyasimha | 21 years. | 1699 | 1699 |
| 25 | Sardāra Simha | 20 years. | 1720 | 1720 |
| 26 | Raghunāthasimha | | 1740 | 1740 |

1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.79-80.
2. Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, Appendix II, pp.206-207. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, pp.36-37 and Raipur District gazetteer, pp.50-51.

The last ruler, Raghunāthasiṁha was defeated by Bhāskara Pant, the Brāhmaṇa General of the Bhônslās of Nagpur in 1740 A.D. No violence was, however, done to Raghunāthasiṁha who, in fact, was permitted to carry on the government in the name of the Bhônslās.

Kêśavadêva, who comes first in the Raipur branch, is placed in 1410 A.D. This is, however, not possible as the Raipur and Khalāri inscriptions inform that Brahmadeva was ruling atleast between 1402 and 1415 A.D. If Kêśavadêva was a successor of Brahmadeva his date may have been about 1420 A.D. The Raipur list is as follows:-

| S.No. | Name of the ruler. | Year in A.D. according to Cunningham. | Year in A.D. according to Dr.Hiralal. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kêśavadeva | 1410 | 1420 |
| 2. | Bhuvaneśvaradeva | 1438 | 1438 |
| 3. | Mānasiṁhadeva | 1463 | 1463 |
| 4. | Santoshasiṁhadeva | 1478 | 1478 |
| 5. | Sūratasiṁhadeva | 1498 | 1498 |
| 6. | San... | 1518 | 1518 |
| 7. | Chāmuṇḍāsiṁhadeva | 1528 | 1528 |
| 8. | Banśīsiṁhadeva | 1563 | 1563 |
| 9. | Dhanasiṁhadeva | 1582 | 1582 |
| 10. | Jaitasiṁhadeva | 1603 | 1603 |
| 11. | Phālesiṁhadeva | 1615 | 1615 |
| 12. | Yādavadeva | 1633 | 1633 |
| 13. | Sômadattadeva | 1650 | 1650 |
| 14. | Baladevasiṁhadeva | 1663 | 1663 |
| 15. | Umêdasiṁhadeva | 1685 | 1685 |
| 16. | Banabīrasiṁhadeva | 1705 | 1705 |
| 17. | Amarasiṁhadeva | 1741 | 1735 |

Amarasiṁhadeva was the last ruler of Raipur branch, whose the Ārang plate[1] is dated in 1735 A.D. This record is perhaps the last record of the Kalachuris of Chhattisgarh.

1. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.181, p.109.,

Amarasimhadeva continued to rule till 1750 A.D., when he was displaced by the Bhônslās of Nagpur. He received for his maintenance the paraganās of Rājim, Pāṭan and Raipur, for which he paid an yearly tribute of Rs.7,000.[1]

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1. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.56.

## CHAPTER VI

## SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The foundations of the Ratnapura-Rājya were laid down by Kaliṅgarāja, who after leaving his ancestral land conquered the Janapada of Dakshiṇa Kosala.[1] He made Tuṁmāṇa, the capital of his newly acquired territory and while residing there increased his fortune.[2] This principality in its beginning formed a part or maṇḍala under the Kalachuri empire of Chedi. Kamalarāja, the son and successor of Kaliṅgarāja is known to have fought with the king of Utkala as a vassal of Gāṅgêyadêva and made over the booty to his overlord.[3] It is from the time of Ratnarāja that the Kalachuri dominion of Dakshiṇa Kosala made a headway towards its expansion. His marriage with the daughter of Vajuvarman,[4] the chief of Kômô-maṇḍala further consolidated his position. Ratnarāja founded the city of Ratnapura,[5] from where his descendants could administer the growing empire effectively.

The country of Tuṁmāṇa continued to be a dependency under the Kalachuris of Tripurī during the reign of Pṛithvīdeva I. His official position of a 'Mahāmaṇḍalèśvara' is affirmed in his own charters.[6]

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1. Ratanpur Stone-Inscription of K.E.866, E.I., Vol.I, pp.34 ff.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, p.34.
3. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.161.
4. Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.79.
5. Ibid., Vol. I, pp.34 ff.
6. Raipur Plate of K.E.821, C.I.I. Vol.IV, p.400; Amodā Plates of K.E. 831, E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.79-80.

The status of a 'Sāmanta' or the feudatory chief along with his various categories is well defined in the works like Śukranīti[1] and Aparājitapṛichchhā[2] and the history of the early mediaeval age gives examples of the growing influence of these feudatory chiefs everywhere. This tendency of feudalism is even found in the Gupta times.[3] The Mahāmaṇḍalêśvaras had their own family ensigns and emblems. They enjoyed a peculiar kind of political position which was neither complete independence nor complete subordination.[4]

Pṛithvīdeva I in his copper-plate inscription is said to have acquired the 'Pañchamahāśabda'[5], which denotes that he was entitled to the sounds of five great musical instruments namely the Śṛiṅga, Tammaṭa, Śaṅkha, Bhêrī and Jayaghaṇṭa.[6] He is further described as the 'sole lord of twenty-one thousand', which should mean that his dominion included twenty-one thousand villages in it.[7] He became the lord of the entire Kosala(Dakshiṇa Kosala) country.[8] As he himself was a scion of the Kalachuri family of Tripurī, he governed the Kosala country as a powerful feudatory of the Kalachuris of Dāhala and owed nominal allegiance

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1. Śukranīti 1,182-84.
2. Aparājitapṛichchhā, p.88
3. Dr.Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India, p.285.
4. Dinkar Desai, The Mahāmaṇḍalêśvaras under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, p.309.
5. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
6. I.A., Vol.XII, p.96; referred to by Mr. Dinkar Desai, Ibid, p.312.
7. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.79-80.
8. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

to his overlord.

It is in the reign of Jājalladeva I that the Kosala Kingdom attains the status of an independent state. The rulers of the neighbouring maṇḍalas namely Kosala, Āndhra, Khimiḍī, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahārī, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa paid annual tributes or presents to the King.[1] He threw off the yoke of the Tripurī lord and this is explicitly known from his Ratanpur stone-inscription, which informs that his friendship was sought by the lord of Chedi.[2]

After Jājalladeva I, next two rulers i.e. Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II also continued the policy of expansion and invaded the eastern countries including Utkala[3] and Gauḍa.[4] In the south, the Kalachuri armies invaded Chakrakôṭya[5] and the adjoining areas. The border chiefs were also subdued.[6] These conquests were made by their powerful feudatories like Jagapāla, Vallabharāja, Purushôttama and Brahmadeva. The empire was at its zenith towards the close of the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II and it extended from Amarakaṇṭaka to the Gôdāvarī and from the confines of Berar in the West to the boundaries of Orissa.[7] The Kingdom of Ratnapura in the 12th century A.D. was recognised among the leading states of India.[8]

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1. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.34 ff. Reference to 'Kosala' makes Pṛithvīdeva I's claim to 'whole Kosala' doubtful. The chief of the Kosala-maṇḍala i.e. eastern Kosala in Jājalladeva I's time in all probability was Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, referred to in the Kharod inscription, Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159 ff.
2. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.34 ff.
3. Ibid., Vol. I, pp.45 ff; Ibid., Vol.XXVII, pp.276 ff; Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159 ff.
4. PRAS, W.C., 1903-04, p.51; I.A., Vol.XX, p.84.
5. E.I., Vol. XXIX, pp. 199 ff; Ibid., Vol.XXVII, pp.276 ff.
6. I.A., Vol. XVII, pp.137 ff.
7. See, the Map of Ratnapura-Rājya.
8. Aparājitapṛichchhā, p.89.

The eastern boundaries of the empire, however, were in constant danger of external attack and Jagaddeva, the eldest son of Pṛithvīdeva II had to remain there for a pretty long time to quell the disturbances while leaving the task of government to his younger brother Jājalladeva II.[1] Internally the empire was governed with the help of the Māṇḍalikas or feudatories, who in their turn became so powerful that the monarch had to a great extent depend on their help.[2] This led to the weakening of the empire after Pṛithvīdeva II. The rebellion of Dhīrū[3] in the time of Jājalladeva II, various calamities[4] witnessed in the days of Ratnadeva III and the battles[5] fought inside the Kalachuri dominion by Pratāpamalladêva corroborate the same view. These feudatories were very often the lords of the maṇḍalas and the prominent chiefs among them acted as the chief advisers[6] of the King.

After Pṛithvīdeva II, the empire began to dwindle. Some feudatory families of Kākayara[7] and bordering areas[8] began to adopt the Sovereign titles and became virtually independent. From the time of Ratnadeva III, we seldom hear of any feudatory family professing allegiance to the house of Ratnapura.

After Pratāpamalladeva, there comes a vacuum in the

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1. E.I., Vol. XXI, p.159.

2. Brahmadeva, a feudatory chief of Pṛithvīdeva II was called from the Talahāri-maṇḍala and was entrusted the task of government, Ibid.,Vol.XXVI, pp. 255 ff.

3. Ibid., Vol.XIX, pp.209 ff.

4. Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159 ff.

5. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.506.

7. In the Kānker plates of Pamparājadeva of the year(K) 965 the titles of 'Rājādhirāja' and 'Paramêśvara'are used for the ruler together with the feudatory titles. E.I.Vol. IX,pp.166ff.

8. Sahaspur statue Inscription of Yasôrāja,K.E.934, C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.595-596.

administrative history of Ratnapura-Rājya. Like other Rājpūt States of the North and Central India, probably the Ratnapura state was also threatened by the Muslims. But the State withstood that danger and the Haihayavaṁśī rulers of Ratnapura continued their rule over Chhattisgarh (excluding Bastar) till middle of the 18th century A.D. The Ratanpur empire was considered as one of the foremost states of Madhya Pradesh, the others being Garhā-maṇḍlā and Chāndā.[1]

## SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur do not furnish sufficient data as to give a systematic account of the administrative system prevalent in Dakshiṇa Kosala. However, the records in collaboration with ancient and mediaeval works on Indian polity may be helpful in determining the nature of the administration of the Ratnapura Kingdom.

## THEORY OF 'SAPTĀṄGA'

Theoretically an ancient state was composed of seven constituents known as '<u>Sapta Prakṛitis</u>'[2] or '<u>Saptāṅga</u>'[3], which were <u>Svāmin</u>(King), <u>Amātya</u> (ministers), <u>Janapada</u> or <u>Rāshṭra</u> (territory and people), <u>Durga</u> (forts or fortified towns), <u>Kôśa</u>

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1. <u>Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central Provinces</u>,(Provincial series), pp.14-17.

2. <u>Kauṭilya</u>, VI,1.

3. <u>Manu</u>, IX, 294; <u>Śukranīti</u>, 1,61-62.

(treasury), Daṇḍa (army) and Mitra (allies). These elements of the State were inseparable from each other and worked in perfect harmony with one another.[1] The Kharod inscription[2] of Ratnadeva III of the year (K.E.) 933 alludes to this theoretical aspect of the State by recording that 'when the 'Kôśa' was exhausted the 'gaja-bala' became weak, the people were scattered and the 'janapada' was in the grip of famine and was subjected to a pitiable condition, Gaṅgādhara by his advice and policy completed the seven constituents of the State.'[3] The administration of the Ratnapura Kingdom, thus, may be considered under these seven heads.

## 1. THE KING

Monarchy was the common form of government in the early mediaeval times and therefore the position of the sovereign among the seven constituents was supreme. Kauṭilya[4] and Manu[5] both justify the existence of a king as without him the state cannot function. Śukra,[6] who is nearer our time, says that the King's position is supreme in a state. The inscriptions throw an important light on the position of Ratnapura Kings who were at the head of the administrative machinery and their authority was unquestionable. The early rulers being the feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripurī were officially desig-

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1. Kāmandaka, IV, 1.
2. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.159-165.
3. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.164, V.25.
4. Kauṭilya, I,4.
5. Manu, VII, 4,5.
6. Śukranīti, 1,61.

nated as 'Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda' and 'Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara'.[1] But it is interesting to note that after the attainment of independent status, they did not use the customary imperial titles. The Kalachuri Kings from Jājalladeva I onwards are mentioned in their records simply as 'Kshitipati';[2] 'bhūpati'[3] 'narêndra',[4] 'mahīpāla',[5] 'prabhu',[6] 'nṛipa'[7] 'rājan';[8] and 'narêśvara'.[9] The royal seals attached to copper-plate charters always have the official title of 'Rājā'[10] for them. Other epithets used by these Kings are 'Sakala-Kosalādhipati'[11] and 'Parama-Māhêśvara'[12] the last symbolising their devotion to Śaivism.

The kingship as a rule was hereditary and the crown usually passed to the eldest son. There is only one exception found in the case of Jagaddeva, the eldest son of Prithvīdeva II,

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1. Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, E.I., XIX, pp.79-80.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.421.
4. Ibid., p.432.
5. Ibid., p.445.
6. Ibid., p.454.
7. Ibid., p.454.
8. Ibid., p.467.
9. Ibid., 486.
10. Ibid., p.626; Ibid., p.548.
    Śêôrīnārāyan Plates of Ratnadeva II of the year 878 (K.E.) contain the title of 'Mahārāṇaka' on the royal seal, Ibid., p.422.
11. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.79-80.
12. Ibid., pp.79-80.

who was deprived of the throne for sometime and afterwards succeeded his younger brother Jājalladeva II[1]. Pratāpamalladêva, the son of Ratnadeva III came to the throne while he was very young.[2] If the manuscript history is to be believed, the voluntary abdication of the throne by some of the rulers was also prevalent.[3]

The writers of the royal prasastis also make the eulogistic references to the Ratnapura Kings. According to Śukra[4] a King should possess the noble qualities of father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, Kubêra and Yama and his actions should be guided by these lofty ideals. As regards the Kalachuri Kings of Ratnapura, the qualities of the head and heart are copiously reproduced in their epigraphs. The Ratanpur stone-inscription[5] of Jājalladeva I states that Pṛithvīdeva I was a guardian of the world with his hundreds of excellent qualities, the foremost, among which were his lordly nature, munificence and valour. The frightened princes bowed to him since he was a god on the earth.[6] Similarly the Koni stone-inscription[7] of Pṛithvīdeva II, says that 'Ratnadeva II was the first to teach humiliation to the flourishing lord of

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1. Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159 ff.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.547.
3. Manuscript history of the Ratanpur Kings informs that Jājalladeva I abdicated the throne and accompanied his guru Magardhvaja Jôgī.
4. Śukranīti, 1, 77-80.
5. E.I., Vol.I, pp.34 ff.
6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413,
7. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276.ff.

Kalinga. He had an extremely developed and spreading fame and had full knowledge of thirty-six sciences of weapons and the pride of fully developed-arms.[1] The attractive qualities of Pṛithvīdeva II are further enlogised in these words -'How many warriors did he not vanquish ? What good people did he not please ? At the doors of what panegyrists did he not keep lordly rutting elephants tied ? How many princes did he not protect when they sought refuge on the battlefield ? What excellences of the victorious Pṛithvīdeva II are not attractive'?[2] Sometimes these rulers are compared to some legendary heroes. Pratāpamalladeva in his Peṇḍrābandh plates is compared to Bali in strength.[3]

There are references to various chivalrous and charitable deeds of the Ratnapura Kings in their records. Śukra while discussing the duties of the King enjoins eightfold conduct for him. The King should punish the evil-minded persons, protect his people, perform the royal sacrifices such as Rājasūya and others, make charity, increase his wealth through lawful means, realize tributes from other rulers, destroy his enemies and improve the cultivable land.[4] The Kalachuri Kings are similarly praised for their wise and just rule. The Amôḍā plates[5] of Pṛithvīdeva I state that 'the King is strong in political insight and while he is protecting the earth, even wind does not take to

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.467.
2. Ibid., p.468.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p. 547.
4. Śukranīti, 1, 123-24.
5. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.79 ff.

wrong path. As his thoughts are fixed on the path of piety, there is, indeed, no outbreak of even the slightest divine calamity.'[1] In the Koni inscription, the same ruler is praised for his administration of justice and righteous deeds.[2] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of the V.E. 1207, speaks about Pṛithvīdeva II that ' the reign of this King follows the path of good policy, causes joy to the people, and is unattended by contact with troubles.'[3] The good government of Jagaddeva is further acclaimed in the Kharod inscription of his son, Ratnadeva III in these words, 'while the King was governing the Kingdom, the thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed, the enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain-caves and the people roaming in dense forests had no fear even from a tiger.'[4]

Besides Kings, the inscriptions also refer to queen-mothers, who must have exercised a great influence on Kalachuri administration in the life-time of their husbands. The queens, mentioned are, Nônallā,[5] Rājallā,[6] Lāchchalladêvī[7] and Sômalladêvī.[8] It was at the words of his mother Rājallā, that Jājalladeva I released Sômêśvara, who he had captured in battle toge-

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.405-406. The divine calamities according to Kāmandaka ( XIII,20) are-fire, flood,epidemic,famine and death.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.467.
3. Ibid., p.486.
4. चौरे - पं प्रयातम [विघ्नैभी] यैः प्रस्थितं ---- गिरिदरी कोणे ऽरिभिः संस्थितम् । तस्मिन्शौर्य [वि] लास दानरसिके राज्यस्थितें भूपतौ व्याघ्राद्प्यति कानने [न] कुरुते भीतन्जनः पर्यटन ।।

   -Ibid., p.537.
5. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
6. Ibid.,Vol. I, pp. 34 ff.
7. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.432.
8. Ibid., p.537.

ther with his ministers and wives.[1] If the Kalachuris of Ratanpur followed the tradition of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, then the chief queen was always associated with the religious endowments, as is known from the Banaras copper-plates of Karṇa.[2]

## II AMĀTYA (The Ministers)

After King, the ministry is the most important organ of the administrative machinery. Kauṭilya[3], Manu,[4] Kāmandaka,[5] Śukra[6], Sômadêva,[7], Lakshmīdhara[8] and Chaṇḍêśvara[9] all emphasise the importance of Amātya and discuss in great details the qualifications and functions of ministers. The Kalachuri Kings of Ratnapura were also assisted by feudatories, ministers and other officers of the state. These advisers and ministers were divided into two categories.

(i) Feudatories:

Firstly there were the feudatories such as Jagapāla[10], Vallabharāja[11] and Brahmadeva[12] who saved the empire from any

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1. Ibid., p.413.
2. Ibid., p.244.
3. Kauṭilya, I, 3,1.
4. Manu, VII., 55.
5. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, IV, 25-31.
6. Śukranīti, 2,5-7 and 52-64.
7. Nītivākyamṛita, Chapter 18.
8. Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter 4.
9. Rājanītiratnākara, Chapter 2.
10. Rājim stone-inscription of K.E.896, I.A., Vol.XVII, pp.135-40.
11. Akaltarā stone-inscription, C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.430-36.
12. Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E. 915, E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255-67.

danger. They governed the country in times of peace and commanded the army in times of war. Jagapāla, who served the Ratnapura State during the reigns of three rulers, namely Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II, belonged to the illustrious family of Rājamāla. His ancestor Sāhilla enjoyed the 'Pañchamahāśabda' and had his own emblem.[1] Vallabharāja, another feudatory, who made the conquests of Utkala and Gauḍa was looked upon as an adopted son by Lāchchhalladêvī, the mother of Ratnadeva II.[2] Similarly Brahmadeva, the foremost of the feudatories of Pṛithvīdeva II, was brought from Talahāri-maṇḍala and was entrusted the task of administration.[3] Whether he became the prime minister or governed the state only as a feudatory chief is not clearly known from the epigraph.[4] This feudatory chief was so influential at the royal court that the learned Brāhmaṇas like Dêlhūka considered it an honour to have been known to him.[5] A collateral branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur established itself at Soṇṭhiva and served the Ratnapur Kings for many generations. The Śêôrīnārāyan stone-inscription of K.E. 919, records that Āmaṇadeva, the son of Ūlhaṇadeva was treated by Jājalladeva II as his distinguished son.[6] These feudatory chiefs are only heard in the reigns of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II. Afterwards they are no where mentioned in the records

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.453.
2. Ibid., p.440.
3. Ibid., p.506.
4. Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.915, E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255ff.
5. Bilaigadh Plates of K.E. 896, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.
6. Ibid., p.524.

of the successive generations.

(ii) Ministers

Besides feudatories, there were ministers to assist the King in administration. Only three names are used for the minister in the Kalachuri records and they are 'Mantri'[1], 'Pātra'[2] and 'Amātya'[3]. The Koni inscription refers to Soḍhadeva, who received the hereditary ministership from Pṛithvīdeva I. His grandson Purushôttama was also appointed to the post of 'Sarvādhikārin' by Ratnadeva II.[4] Gaṅgādhara, the Prime Minister of Ratnadeva III was appointed on the principle of ability. The King was pleased with his learning, character and diplomacy and was able to restore the prosperity of the Kingdom by Gaṅgādhara's policy.[5] In this way, both the principles of heredity and ability were applied to the appointment of ministers.

The office of the minister required certain merits and qualifications. Kauṭilya[6], Kāmandaka[7], Śukra,[8] Sômadêva[9] and Sômêśvara[10] prescribe various qualifications for the minister. Kauṭilya further adds that the ministers should be tested by

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1. Ibid., p.406.
2. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276 ff.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.468-69.
4. Ibid.,
5. Kharod stone-inscription, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.538.
6. Kauṭilya, I, Chapter 3.
7. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, IV, 25-31.
8. Śukranīti, 2,52-64.
9. Nītivākyāmṛita, X, 5.
10. Mānasôllāsa, pp.33-34, Ślokas, 52-59.

'upadhās'(tests)[1]. The ministers of the Ratnapura Kingdom were also required to posses these qualfications. The Koni inscription states that 'Purushôttama was intellectually strong in deciding the doubtful matters of royal policy. The use of the three royal powers had made his nature excellent and he was free from pride, as the use of the six 'guṇas'[2](measures) had accrued to him the religious merit. His character was tested by all kinds of tests and he was found endowed with the multitudes of ministerial qualities. Therefore, he was made 'Sarvādhikārin'by King Ratnadeva II'.[3]

The Kharod inscription enumerates the qualities of Prime Minister Gaṅgādhara, which were his courage, liberality discernment,valour,fame, good nature, proficiency in Śāstras and also his unique practice of the science of Chāṇakya i.e. diplomacy marked by pure conduct. His wise actions pleased the King Ratnadeva, who appointed him to the post of Prime Minister.[4] It was on account of the wise policy followed by Purushôttama and afterwards Gaṅgādhara that their masters got rid of their numerous foes and ruled the earth without any further trouble.[5]

The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur give us very little information about the actual strength of the

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1. Kauṭilya, I, Chapter 10.
2. 'Shādgunyam' according to Kautilya(VII,2) are Sandhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Saṁśraya and dvaidhībhāva.
3. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.468-69.
4. धैर्यौदार्यविवेकविक्रम यश: सौशील्य शास्त्राण्यथो -
शौचाचारपरा मनन्य सदृशीं चाणक्य विद्यामपि ।
दृष्टवा चैव नितान्त तुष्ट मनसा श्रीरत्नदेवेन य: सर्वाधिकरणेषु
एव विहित: प्राधान्यमाद्ये पदे ॥
Ibid., p.538.
5. Almost the same verse has been used for both the ministers in their respective records. Vide C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.469, Verse 25 and Ibid., p.538, Verse 27.

ministry and different portfolios of its members. The writers on Hindu polity generally differ on this subject and the number varies from 8 to 20.[1] Śukra[2] favours ten as the number of the ministers consisting of Purôhita, Pratinidhi, Pradhāna, Sachiva, Mantri, Prāḍvivāka, Paṇḍita, Sumantra, Amātya and Dūta.He further limits the number to eight by excluding Purôhita and Dūta, as desired by some other writers. Coming to our dynasty we come across the following ministers referred to in the epigraphs.

(1) Pradhāna or Pradhānāmātya: The Rājim inscription of Jagapāladeva of the year 896, refers to Devarāja, who occupied the office of Pradhāna during the reigns of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II.[3] The Kharod inscription gives the name of another Pradhānāmātya Gaṅgādhara, who occupied this office during the reign of Ratnadeva III.[4] His duties were to give counsel to the King in subduing the enemies and bear the burden of the administrative affairs. Śukra describes Pradhāna, as 'Sarvadarśin' or supervisor of the whole administrative machinery.[5]

(2) Sāndhivigrahika: The Raipur[6] and Amodā[7] plates of

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1. Manu (VII,54) 7 or 8; Mbh. (12,85) 8; Mānava 12, Bārhaspatya 16 and Auśanasa prescribe 20(Arthaśāstra I,Chap.15) as the number.

2. Śukranīti, 2, 169-72.

3. I.A., Vol.XVII, p.139 f. Prof.Mirashi is uncertain about the meaning of the word 'Pradhāna' used for the Prime Minister in this record. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.457, fn.1.

4. E.I., Vol.XXI, pp.159 ff.

5. Śukranīti, 2, 83.

6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.400.

7. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75 ff.

Pṛithvīdeva I refer to Vigraharāja, a minister of Pṛithvīdeva I. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva I also mentions Vigraharāja, who was the Sāndhvigrahika of Jājalladeva I.[1] Probably he held this office during the reigns of both the Kings. Other charters of the dynasty afterwards make no mention of this minister. Sāndhivigrahika was the minister for peace and war. We are unable to form any idea of his duties from the inscriptions. The Mitākṣharā on Yājñavalkya-smṛiti states that Sāndhivigrahika should draft the charter as dictated by the King himself.[2] Sômêśvara also lays down some essential qualifications of Sāndhivigrahika, which are the knowledge of all the languages, scripts, science of warfare, principles of polity and of fiscal matters.[3]

(3) Sarvādhikārin: A minister known as Sarvādhikārin occurs in the Koni inscription. It is said in the epigraph that Ratnadeva II gave the unique post of Sarvādhikārin to Purushôttama and with his help ruled without any trouble for a long time.[4] Purushôttama has been praised exactly in the same words, which are used for Gaṅgādhara, the Prime Minister of Ratnadeva III. It is clear from the record that the post of Sarvādhikārin was different from that of Pradhānāmātya. The exact scope and nature of his duties are not described in other records. Sarvadhikarin

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1. Ibid., Vol I, pp. 34 ff.
2. Mitākṣharā on Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, 1,319, quoted by Prof. Altekar in, The Rāshṭrakūṭes and Their Times, p.166
3. Mānasôllāsa, p.40, Ślokas, 127-30.
4. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.469.

is mentioned in the contemporary records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī where he performed the duties of finance and no gift of texes could be made without his permission by the subordinate collectors.[1] Purushôttama on the other hand is associated with various conquests and administration of the empire afterwards. Prof.Mirashi translates the word as 'minister plenipotentiary' and it befits the eulogistic description of the holder of this post. Luckily the Rāshṭrakūṭa records refer to some ministers designated as Sarvādhikārin or the officer with powers over the whole administration, who, according to Prof.Altekar, were occupying the status corresponding to that of the Sarvadarśī Pradhāna of Śukra.[2]

(4) Purôhita: We do not possess any evidence to show that Purôhita enjoyed the status of a minister. Generally all the land-grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were made to the donees, who were the learned Brāhmaṇas. Only once in the Amôdā plates[3] of Jājalladeva II of the year 919, the name of the family priest Ṭhakkura Nāmadeva occurs who was granted a village along with an astrologer, Rāghava. In this case, the evidence is inconclusive.

(5) Dharmakarmādhikārī: The Kharod inscription mentions the name of a Śreshṭhin, Ralhaṇa, who was 'Dharmakarmādhikārī' or the officer in charge of religious endowments.[4] Probably

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1. Desai, The Mahāmandalêśvaras Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, pp. 331-32.
2. Altekar, The Rāshṭrakūṭas And Their Times, p.165.
3. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.214.
4. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.

he held the rank of a minister, as the religious activities occupied an important place in the administration of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

Other Officers: The inscriptions also refer to some other officers, who formed the Secretariat of the Ratnapura administration. Śukra lays down that each minister should be assisted by two Secretaries.[1] Among other officers of the Ratnapura Kingdom the reference is made to 'Ratnapura-Pradhāna'[2] or the Mayor of Ratnapura, 'Akshapaṭala'[3] or the Keeper of Records, 'Karaṇa'[4] or Chief of the Record Office. The Amarakaṇṭaka statue inscription of K.E. 922 informs about Paṇḍita Mādhavāksha, who was 'Lekhanādhyaksha' or the Superintendent of Writing at Ratnapura.[5] We can also utilize the Banaras plates[6] of Karṇa in order to know the designations of other officers of the State. The officers mentioned in the Banaras record are-the Mahādêvī, Mahārājaputra, Mahāmantrin, Mahāmātya, Mahāsandhivigrahika, Mahādharmādhikaraṇika, Mahākshapaṭalika, Mahākaraṇika, Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpramātṛi, Mahāśvasādhanika, Mahābhāṇḍāgārika and Mahādhyaksha.

III JANAPADA ( Territory of the State )

Janapada or territory is the third constituent of the State. Kāmandaka,[7] Sômadêva,[8] and Lakshmīdhara,[9] all suggest that the ruler should pay utmost attention to his territory. The terms, 'Dêśa', 'Rāshṭra', 'Vishaya' and 'Janapada' are generally used for the territory of a State.[10] The inscriptions from Ratanpur invariably use the word 'Janapada' for the territory of

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1. Śukranīti, 2, 109-10.
2. Amodā plates of Prithvīdeva I, C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.406.
3. Ratanpur inscription of K.E. 915, Ibid., p.507.
4. Peṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalladeva, Ibid., P.548.
5. C.I.I., Vol., IV, p.587.
6. Ibid., p.244.
7. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, Chapter IV.
8. Nītivākyāmṛita, Chapter XIX.
9. Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter VII.
10. Kāne: History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III, p.138.

the Ratnapura State.[1] Sometimes the word 'Dêśa' is also used.[2]

The Ratnapura State in its beginning was only a maṇḍala of the Tripurī empire. Pṛithvīdeva I was a mahāmaṇḍalêśvara and was also known as the lord of the whole Kosala. His dominion included nearly twenty-one thousand villages in it.[3] A mahāmaṇḍalêśvara according to Bhuvanadeva used to have one lakh villages in his territory.[4] In the time of Jājalladeva I, the Ratnapura Kingdom expanded considerably and became an empire in true sense. The Kuruspal stone-inscription of the Nāgavaṁśī King Sômêśvaradeva records that Sômêśvaradeva killed the powerful King Madhurāntaka in battle, burnt Veṅgi, subjugated Bhadrapattana and Vajra and took six lakhs and ninety-six villages of the Kosala country.[5] This Sômêśvaradeva was an adversary of Jājalladeva I. The annexation of the whole Dakshiṇa Kosala to the Ratnapura empire was complete in the time of Jājalladeva I.[6] The figures of six lakhs and ninety six of the Kosala villages seem to be an exaggeration.[7] But it is definite that the janapada of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur at this time included one lakh villages in it. The process of expansion of the Ratnapura empire was completed in the days of Pṛithvīdeva II, when its length and breadth went nearly 300x300 miles,[8]

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1. C.I.I., Vol., IV, p.412 and 538
2. Ibid., p.514.
3. C.I.I., Vol IV, p.406
4. Aparājitapṛichchhā, p.203, v.5.
5. E.I., Vol.X, pp.28 ff.
6. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.413.
7. Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.273, p.161.
8. See the Map of Ratnapura-Rājya.

This boundary is almost the same, which was noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A.D., according to his testimony the circuit of the Kosala Kingdom was 6000 li, or 1000 miles.[1]

The empire was divided into a number of maṇḍalas,[2] which were also known as 'vishayas'[3]. Sometimes the word 'dêśa'[4] is also used for a maṇḍala. The inscriptions refer to Kômô[5], Yayapara[6], Anarghavallī 7, Kosala[8], Madhyadêśa[9] or Madhyamaṇḍala[10], Ēvaḍi[11] and Talahāri[12] maṇḍalas of the Ratnapura empire.[13]

Each mandala was in charge of one governor, known as maṇḍalapati[14], maṇḍalanātha,[15] Maṇḍalêśvara[16] or the māṇḍalika[17]. The privileges and functions of the governors of these maṇḍalas are not described in the records of the dynasty. Moreover we have no information about the exact number of villages in these units of the empire. The author of Aparājitapṛichchhā says that the territory of a māṇḍalika consists of

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1. Watters: On Yuan Chwang's, Vol. II, p.200.
2. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79.
3. I.H.Q., Vol. IV, p.35.
4. E.I., Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.
5. C.II.,Vol. IV, p.405.
6. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.79 ff. Prof. Mirashi reads the word as 'Yapara', C.I.I., Vol. IV. p.406.
7. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.421, 427 & 547.
8. Ibid., p. 625 & 629.
9. Ibid., p. 445.
10. Ibid., p. 477 & 494.
11. Ibid., p. 161.
12. Ibid., pp. 455, 469, 504 & 506.
13. For the location of these maṇḍalas, See the Map of Ratnapura-Rāja.
14. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.405.
15. Ibid., p.405.
16. Ibid., p.494.
17. Ibid., p.505.

nearly fifty-thousand villages.[1] We know of a māṇḍalika Brahmadeva who governed Talahāri-maṇḍala. But the number of 50,000 villages for this maṇḍala would be too much to assess. Probably Talahāri-maṇḍala included three or four thousand villages in it, as it was one of most important units of the empire. Each of the vishayas under the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire usually consisted of about 2000 villages and hamlets.[2] Some of the maṇḍalas of the Ratnapura empire probably were of the same size as those of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

We have no information about the next territorial division. The later Haihaya Kingdom of Ratanpur comprised 48 garhs[3] or units of 84 villages known as Chaurāsīs[4]. These chaurāsīs were further divisible into the small units of 42, 24, 12 and 5 villages.[5] The towns and villages were the smallest units of the empire. 'Pura Pradhāna'[6] was incharge of a town. The village was entrusted to a headman or some favourite of the King[7]. Towns were usually fortified. Similarly the villages had their four boundaries well determined.[8]

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1. Aparājitapṛichchhā, p.203, V.6.
2. Altekar: The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, p.136-37.
3. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.38.
4. 'Chaurāsī' as a territorial unit comes from the ancient times. For reference, Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp.198-205.
5. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.40.
6. As in case of Ratnapura, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.406.
7. Kīrttidhara, the scribe of the Sarkho plates was the owner of the village Jaṇḍêra, Ibid., p.428.
8. Ibid., p.406.

## IV DURGA OR PURA (Fortified towns)

'Durga' or 'Pura' constitutes another element of the State. Sômadêva defines 'durga' as a place, where the enemies are put to trouble and one is saved from any calamity whatsoever.[1] Manu[2] and Śukra[3] emphasize the utility of durga or forts by stating that from there a single archer can fight a hundred enemies and a hundred can fight ten thousand. Kāmandaka,[4] Lakshmīdhara[5] and Chaṇḍêśvara[6] also discuss this element more or less in the same way. Kauṭilya[7] says that the various types of forts should be constructed in the four quarters of the boundaries of the Kingdom and the flourishing towns should be built in the central part of the country.

The author of Arthaśāstra divides these forts into four classes i.e. 'audaka', 'pārvata', 'dhanvana' and 'vana'[8]. In the early mediaeval times, Śukra gives a eightfold division of forts namely 'airiṇa', 'pārikha', 'pārigha', 'vana', 'dhanva' 'jala', 'giri', 'sainya' and 'sahāya'.[9] Some of these types were

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1. Nītivākyāmṛita, Chapter XX, 1.
2. Manu, VII, 74.
3. Śukranīti, 4, 859.
4. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, Chapter IV.
5. Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter V.
6. Rājanītiratnākara, Chapter VI.
7. Kauṭilya, II, 3, 1-4.
8. Ibid., II, 3,2.
9. Śukranīti, 4, 850-55.

definitely known to the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

Similarly the towns were also divided into various types such as 'nagara', 'durga', 'rājadhānī', 'pattana', 'kharvaṭa', 'khêṭaka', 'drôṇikāmukha' and 'grāma'.[1] The inscriptions of this dynasty refer to some fortified towns, which are Tuṁmāṇa,[2] Ratnapura,[3] Jājallapura[4], Saraharāgaḍha,[5] Machkā-Sihavā,[6] Vikarṇṇapura,[7] Varêlāpura,[8] Nārāyaṇapura,[9] Têjallapura,[10] Kumarākoṭapattana[11] and Mallālapattana.[12] Out of these towns of the Ratnapura Kingdom, the old capital town of Tuṁmāṇa[13] represented a pārvata-durga or mountain fortress, which ispreferred to other fortifications by Kauṭilya[14], Manu[15] and Śukra.[16]

In the reign of Ratnarāja, Ratnapura became the capital of the empire. The town was founded by Ratnarāja. The Ratanpur stone-inscription records the prosperity of the town and praises

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1. Bhôja: Samarāṅganasūtradhāra, Vol.I, pp.86-87; Śrī Kumāra: Śilparatna, Vol.I, p.17.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.412.
3. Ibid., 412.
4. Ibid., 413.
5. Ibid., 455.
6. Ibid., p.455.
7. Ibid., 499.
8. Ibid., 506.
9. Ibid., 507.
10. Ibid., 507.
11. Ibid., 507.
12. Ibid., 515.
13. For its situation, See Chapter on Architecture.
14. Kauṭilya, II, 3,3.
15. Manu, VII, 71.
16. Śukranīti, 4,855.

Ratnarāja and the baker Yasa,[1] the latter being in charge of the town.[2] The importance of this town is proved from the fact that afterwards the dynasty and the Kingdom became known after Ratnapura or Ratanpur. The inscriptions, however, give no information about the construction and fortification of Ratnapura. The Marāṭhas constructed a new fort (i.e. Bādal Mahal) out of the old material and the evidence regarding the ancient town-planning of the Ratnapura Kingdom is entirely lost.

Besides Tumāna and Ratnapura, the sites of Koṭgaḍh,[3] Mallār[4] and Kharod[5] from their ramparts and extensive areas within these enclosures give an indication of the fortified townships. But the dynastic records lack in details and nothing more could be said about these places beyond the archaeological description[6] of the sites.

## V KÔSÁ (Treasury)

Kôśa or treasury is the fifth constituent of the State. Kauṭilya justifies the King's share by saying that the first King Manu Vaivasvata saved people from the state of 'mātsyanyāya' (the law of fish) and became entitled to realize his share from the subjects.[7] The writer further gives a detailed account of

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.412.
2. Ibid., p.406.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.212.
4. Ibid., p.201-03.
5. Ibid., p.204.
6. See, Chapter on Architecture.
7. Kauṭilya, I, 13, 6-7.

the various sources of State revenue.[1] Other writers like Kāmandaka[2], Śukra,[3] Sômadêva,[4] Lakshmīdhara[5] and Chaṇḍêśvara[6] also lay stress upon the maintenance of Kôśa.

The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur do not give sufficient information about the revenue system of the Ratnapura Kingdom. The Kharod inscription of K.E. 933 refers to Kôśa only once, when it was exhausted.[7] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I vaguely records that Jājalladeva I was possessed of all the seven kinds of fortune.[8] Only one land grant i.e. the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I refers to taxes like bhāga, bhôga, kara, hiraṇya and rasavatīdaṇḍa.[9] On the basis of this information, land appears to be the principal source of revenue. Land was measured on the basis of ploughing capacity, which is mentioned in the Koni inscription.[10] All the four boundaries of a village were well-determined.[11]

The taxes known as bhāga, bhôga, kara, hiraṇya and

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1. Ibid., Book II.
2. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, Chapter IV.
3. Śukranīti, 4, 116-241.
4. Nītivākyāmṛita, Chapter XXI.
5. Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter VIII.
6. Rājanītiratnākara, Chapter VIII.
7. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.538.
8. Ibid., p.413.
9. Ibid., p.406.
10. Ibid., p.470.
11. Ibid., p.406.

daṇḍa along with other sources of revenue are discussed by the Smṛiti writers.[1] Bhāga stands for the traditional one-sixth share of the crop due to the King.[2] But Kauṭilya,[3] Śukra[4] and Chaṇḍêśvara[5] are not unanimous in determining the exact share of the crop. Probably the land tax in the Ratnapura Kingdom also varied with the quality of the land and the needs of the State. This tax was subject to remission in case of the failure of crops due to famines, pestilences and wars.[6]

Bhôgakara represents other taxes or daily presents in kind of fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass, firewood etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the King.[7]

Kara as a source of revenue has been interpreted into various ways. It was either a periodical tax over and above the King's grain share, or was an emergency tax in addition to the land tax or it was atax upon merchant's profits.[8]

Hiraṇya literally means gold or money.[9] Either it denoted the right over treasure-trove and mines or it was a cash-levy on some special crop.

Lastly, '<u>rasaya tIdanda</u>' may be interpreted as fines for illegal distillation.[10] The exact nature of this fine is

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1. Dikshit, R.K.:'Kôśa in Smṛitis,' <u>J.U.P.H.S.</u>, Vol.V, pp.48-82.
2. <u>Kauṭilya</u>, II, Chapter I; <u>Manu</u>, VII, 130.
3. <u>Kauṭilya</u>, V, Chapter 2.
4. <u>Śukranīti</u>, 4, 226.
5. <u>Rājanītiratnākara</u>, Chapter XII, p.62.
6. <u>Kauṭilya</u>, II, Chapter 1.
7. Ghosal, U.N.: <u>Hindu Revenue System</u>, p.290. 8. <u>Ibid</u>., p.293.
9. Kane: <u>History of Dharmaśāstra</u>, Vol.II., p.124, fn.164.
10. <u>C.I.I.</u>, Vol.IV, p.409.

not known, although daṇḍa or fine as a source of revenue has been recommended by the Smṛitis.[1] Besides these taxes, no other taxes are specifically mentioned in the epigraphic records and we cannot have a systematic or satisfactory knowledge of the actual system of taxation.

Dependencies or tributary states provided another source of revenue for the Ratnapura Kingdom. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E. 866 records that 'the princely rulers of Kosala, Āndhra, Khimidī, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa, some out of friendship and some in order to please him i.e. the King gave the King fixed amount year by year.'[2]

Similarly the royal treasury was filled up with the ravages of the enemy country. Manu[3] also refers to this source of state revenue. The Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I record that Kamalarāja after vanquishing the King of Utkala made over the booty to his overlord Gāṅgêyadêva.[4]

Although the epigraphic records give no information about the various items of state expenditure, Kauṭilya and Śukra suggest some items under this head. Kauṭilya enumerates[5] fourteen items of expenditure. Śukra[6] divides the income in six

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1. Manu, VIII, 307.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413.
3. Manu, VII, 96-97.
4. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.405.
5. Kauṭilya, II, 6, 11.
6. Śukranīti, 1, 314-16. Yuktikalpataru (p.5) also describes some of these items of expenditure.

parts and prescribes that one part should be kept reserve. Three parts or half of the whole income should be spent on army and half of a part should be assigned to each of the four-items namely charity, privy purse, civil administration and people. Probably the Kalachuris of Ratanpur also spent their revenue on similar items of expenditure.

## VI BALA (Army)

After Kôśa, there comes 'bala' or the army as a constituent of the State. Kauṭilya,[1] Kāmandaka,[2] Śukra,[3] Sômadêva,[4] Lakshmīdhara[5] and Chaṇḍêśvara,[6] all the ancient and mediaeval writers consider it as the most vital part of the state administration.

The Kalachuris of Ratanpur, who very often invaded Utkala, Gauḍa and other neighbouring states, had to maintain a strong and efficient force. The words 'sainya'[7] and 'vāhinī'[8] are used for army. Although the mention of 'chaturaṅga'[9] makes us believe that the Kalachuri army consisted of the traditional four-fold groups[10] namely chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

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1. Kauṭilya, II, Chapters 30-33, and VI, Chapter 1.
2. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, Chapter IV.
3. Śukranīti, 4,864-1064.
4. Nītivākyāmṛita, Chapter XXII.
5. Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter IX.
6. Rājanītiratnākara, Chapter IX.
7. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.468.
8. Ibid., p.505.
9. Ibid., p.433.
10. Bhôja: Yuktikalpataru, p.6; Lakshmīdhara: Kṛityakalpataru, Chapter IX, p.95.

But the inscriptions make no individual reference to war chariots and it appears that chariot as a fighting force was not used in this time. The other wings namely elephants, cavalry and infantry have been mentioned in the inscriptions.[1]

The elephant force occupied a prominent position in the army. The Kharod inscription while describing the seven constituents of the state refers to '<u>gaja-bala</u>' or elephant force alone under the head of '<u>bala</u>' or army.[2] The Akaltarā stone-inscription of Ratnadeva II likewise states that the feudatory Vallabharāja 'being fond of the sport of capturing elephants on earth, made the whole Vindhya forest devoid of elephants and after humbling the King of Gauḍa who was the lord of elephants, he turned the enemy's city into a Vindhya tract for the capture of elephants.'[3]

Besides elephants, the horses and foot-soldiers are also mentioned.[4] The exact strength of the army of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur is, however, not known.

The weapons referred to are the sword,[5] and the bow and arrow.[6] Besides the epigraphs of the dynasty, the Rāmāyaṇa-scenes illustrated at Jānjgir also depict the weapons such as the bow and arrow and also the club(gadā).[7] The use of various weapons required skill and training in the art of warfare. The Koni inscription informs that Ratnadeva II had full knowledge of thirty-six sciences of weapons and his sole delight at all places and times was in the

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1. मुष्टया [दाय]कृपाण [कोटि विदलद्वाजि व्रणे] [न्द्रेण वै ?।]---न्यासैः समदन्तिनाम्। च्छन्नान्तालफलैरिव क्षितिमपि च्छिन्नैः शिरोभिर्द्विषां पादातं च गणं निहत्यविदधे नृत्यत्कव (ब) न्धा दिशः ।।
   -Seorinārāyan Inscription of K.E. 919, Verse 29, C.I.I. Vol.IV, p.523.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.538.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.433.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., p.523.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 505.
6. <u>Ibid</u>., p.523.
7. Photographs Nos. 45,46,47 and 48.

festivity of battle.'[1] The same epigraph mentions the poet Kāśala, who along with other sciences, was conversant with 'the science of elephants'.[2]

The invading armies while marching created the great noise and it was made more dreadful by reverberations of the sound of war-drums.[3]

The battles, which took place, were usually fierce in nature. Vallabharāja, the feudatory of Ratnadeva II after killing his enemies is said to have created an extraordinary lake out of blood of the foot-soldiers, elephants and horses.[4] Similarly the Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.915, refers to another battle against Jaṭêśvara, the son of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, in which 'the creeper like sword of Brahmadeva appeared like flashes of lightning and in which it was difficulty to move about on account of multitudes of streams of blood gushing forth from the necks of crowds of wrathful foes.'[5] A battle-scene is actually depicted inside the maṇḍapa of the Śiva temple at Pāli.[6] Sometimes some superhuman power was also invoked for defeating the enemies.[7]

## VII MITRA ( Friends or allies)

The seventh or the last element of state according to Kauṭilya[8], Kāmandaka[9], Śukra,[10] Sômadêva[11] and Lakshmîdhara[12] is

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.467.
2. 'hastyāyurvvedavettā', Ibid., p.470.
3. Koni stone-inscription, Verse 11, Ibid., p.468.
4. Ibid., p.433.
5. Ibid., p.505.
6. See the chapter on Architecture.
7. Bilaigadh plates of K.E.896 mention 'Śākambharīvidyā', which enabled Brahmadeva to defeat his enemies, E.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.
8. Kauṭilya, VI, Chapter 2.
9. Kāmandaka-Nītisāra, Chapter IV.
10. Śukranīti, 4,2-18.
11. Nītivākyāmṛita, Chapter XXIII
12. Kṛitvakalpataru, Chapter X.

'Mitra' or allies. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are completely silent over the actual working of this constituent in the Ratnapura administration. The political conditions in the early mediaeval period were hardly conducive to this type of diplomacy. But every state whether in ancient or mediaeval times required friendly powers and desired to subdue the enemies and the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were no exception to this general rule.

The Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E. 866 informs that the friendship of Jājalladeva I was sought by the rulers of Chedi, Kānyakubja and Jêjākabhukti.[1] In the reign of next ruler i.e. Ratnadeva II, the house of Chedi became hostile to the Ratnapura Kings[2] and it shows that such alliances were not of permanent nature. Besides these rulers, no other friendly states are ever mentioned in the records of successive generations.

The enemies of the Ratnapura Kingdom are very often referred to in the epigraphs of this dynasty. The bordering rulers such as the Nāgavaṁśī Kings of Chakrakôṭya or Bastar,[3] the rulers of Suvarṇapura,[4] and the Eastern Gaṅgas[5] were the traditional enemies of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Kauṭilya also generalizes the position by saying that the states lying

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413.
2. Ibid., pp.486 & 523.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413.
4. Ibid., p.537.
5. Ibid., 467.
6.

just on the border of a state are indispensably the enemies of that state and those falling just after these bordering states are the friendly ones or natural allies of the central state.[1] We get an interesting information about the friendly attitude of the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Nāgavaṁśī rulers of Chakrakôṭya towards each other. Both the dynasties were bordering the Ratnapura Kingdom and were hostile to the Kalachuri power. The Bilaigaḍh plates of K.E. 896 record that 'when Pṛithvideva II devasted Chakrakôṭa, the Gaṅga King was over-whelmed with anxiety and he considered the crossing of the ocean as the only means of saving his life.'[2] The statement proves that the traditional enmity between the Kalachuris on the one hand and the Nāgavaṁśīs of Chakrakôṭya and the Eastern Gaṅgas on the other hand continued for many generations. It was probably for this reason that Jagaddeva, the eldest son of Pṛithvīdeva II had to remain in the eastern part of the Kingdom while fighting the Eastern Gaṅgas. The records of the Nāgavaṁśī Kings of Bastar similarly express their enmity with the Kosala Kings.[3]

The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, however, do not elaborate this point further,

## LAND-GRANTS

Land-grants issued by the Ratnapura Kings on various occasions formed a special subject of state activity. Manu,[4]

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1. Kauṭilya, VI, p.2.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.461.
3. Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.161-62.
4. Manusmṛiti, I, 86.

Vyāsa[1], Vasishṭha[2] and other Smṛiti writers[3] lay great stress upon the land-gift and they prescribe various rules, which were followed by the Hindu Kings, atleast after the fifth century A.D.

The work of land-grants was probably looked after by Sāndhivigrahika and Dharmakarmādhikārin. The scribes, who recorded the royal orders about the land-gifts are known in the epigraphs of the Kalachuris of Tripuri as 'Dharmalêkhin'[4] and 'Daśamūlin'[5]. Probably these designations also continued in Dakshiṇa Kosala. The first available record of the dynasty was written by Alhaṇa.[6] It is interesting to note that the family of a Kāyastha scribe named Kirttidhara, perhaps, came from Ḍāhala. This family served the Ratnapura Kings continuously for three generations and most of the royal charters were written by Kirttidhara,[7] his sons Sūpaṭa[8] and Vatsarāja[9], and grandson Dharmarāja.[10] Another Kāyastha family of Govinda[11] also came from the Chedi country and settled in Dakshiṇa Kosala. His grandson Ratnasiṁha[12] and great-grandson, Devagaṇa[13] even composed

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1. Mbh., Anuśāsana Parva, 62,19.
2. Vasishṭhasmṛiti, 29,12.
3. Kane: History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol.II, pp.860-62.
4. Khairhā Plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.296.
5. Jabalpur Plates of Jayasiṁha of K.E. 918, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.329.
6. Amodā Plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.407.
7. Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.866, and Sarkho Plates of K.E.880.
8. Bilaigaḍh Plates of K.E.896, and Pāragāon Plates of K.E.897.
9. Amodā Plates of K.E.900 and 905.
10. Amodā Plates of K.E.919.
11. Ratanpur stone-inscription of V.E.1207.
12. Mallār stone-inscription of K.E.919.
13. Ratanpur Stone-inscription of V.E.1207.

some epigraphs. Devapāṇi[1] and Kumārapāla,[2] a scion of the Kalachuri family wrote a few records.

Besides official scribes, the engravers of the land-grants are also mentioned in the inscriptions. They generally belonged to the artisan class. The charters give the names of some of the engravers as Bhāsala,[3] Pālhūka,[4] Ratnapāla,[5] Sāmpula,[6] Chāndārka,[7] Dhanapati,[8] Īśvara,[9] Chhītūka[10] and Jātū.[11] All of them are described to have been well-versed in the art of engraving.

The charters of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are simple in style and usually conventional in description. They begin with the customary obeisance to Brahman or Śiva. After it, they describe the genealogy of the donor. Then the family history of the donee and his gôtra, pravara, śākhā and other details are mentioned. The description of the donee is followed by the object and occasion of the gift. The Amodā copper-plate charter of K.E. 831, is the only record which specifies the object of the grant for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of the donor himself[12] The practice, however, seems to have been abandoned soon after, as the particular phrase is not found in the successive records. The actual land-gifts with the exception of the Amodā plates of K.E. 831,[13] similarly do not specify the terms of grants. After it, the benedictory and imprecatory verses, lauding gifts and deprecating their resumption, generally from the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Smṛitis are quoted.[14].

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1. Akaltarā stone-inscription, Koṭgaḍh stone-inscription, and Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.910.
2. Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.915, Śeôrīnārāyan stone-inscription of K.E. 919, and Kharod stone-inscription of K.E.933.
3. Prof. Mirashi reads the word as 'Hāsala', C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.400 fn.19.
4. Koṭgaḍh stone-inscription.
5. Rājim stone-inscription of K.E.896.
6. Ratanpur stone-inscription of V.E. 1207, and Mallār stone-inscription of K.E.919.
7. Amodā plates of K.E.905.
8. Ratanpur stone-inscription of K.E.915. ‖ 9. Ibid.,
10. Śeôrīnārāyan stone-inscription of K.E.919.
11. Kharod stone-inscription of K.E.933.
12. 'mātā-pitrôrātmanaścha puṇya yaśobhivriddhaye', C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.406.
13. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.406.
14. Kane: History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, p.862, fn.2025, Appendix, pp.1271-1277.

Witnesses of these gifts are rarely mentioned. Lastly the names of the writers and engravers are given.

The dates of the records are given at the end. These records are always dated in the Kalachuri year.[1] The copper-plates are usually strung together by a circular ring having a circular seal at the top. The royal seal contains the figure of 'Gaja-Lakshmī' at the top and the name of the King, prefixed with 'Rājāśrīmad' is engraved below the goddess.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE HAIHAYA KINGDOM OF RATANPUR

After the rule of the early mediaeval dynasty of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura, their socalled descendants continued to govern the area from Ratanpur and Raipur. We get some interesting information from the Revenue Book[2] of Kalyan Sahāī's reign, which was shown to the settlement officer of 1868 A.D. The Ratanpur government in the mediaeval times comprised 48 garhs or chaurāsīs yielding a revenue of 6½ lakhs of rupees. In addition to Chhattisgarh proper the neighbouring hill states also paid tribute to the rulers of Ratanpur.

Kalyān Sahāi a contemporary of Akbar maintained his army[3] which consisted of -

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|---|---|---|
| Swordsmen | - | 2,000 |
| Daggermen | - | 5,000 |
| Matchlockmen | - | 3,600 |
| Archers | - | 2,600 |
| Horsemen | - | 1,000 |
| Total | | 14,200 |

1. 'Chedīśasya Saṁvat', C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.407; 'Kalachuri Saṁvatsara', Ibid., p.448.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.37.
3. Ibid., p.39.

There was also an establishment of 116 elephants.

As regards the administrative system, there was a regular official hierarchy centering in the King and broadening down through several grades to the headman in charge of individual villages.

The official hierarchy began with Dīwān,[1] who was in charge of a separate garh. These garhs were 48 in number and were more commonly known as chaurasis or tracts of 84 villages. Several of these garhs were bāīsīs or tracts of 42 villages or even chaubīsīs i.e. units of 24 villages. Dīwans being the chief administrative officials dealt directly with the King.

Dīwān was assisted by Dāos,[2] who were in charge of barhôns. The barhôns were the units of twelve villages. Some of these groups were comprised of only five villages.

Gāôṇṭiā,[3] who was entrusted with the village administration, worked under Dāo. He was the village headman, and was required to deal directly with the village tenants. In this way he formed the lowest grade in the administrative hierarchy.

Dīwāns, Dāos and Gāôṇṭiās were charged with the collection and transmission of the Revenue. The revenue was paid by the husbandsmen and was appropriated by the ruler.[4]

The Ārang plate[5] of the Haihaya King Amarasimhadèva of

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1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.40.
2. Ibid., p.41.
3. Ibid., p.42.
4. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.42.
5. Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, No.181, p.109.

Samvat 1792 = 1735 A.D. gives an interesting information about some of the taxes, which were exempted in the case of Ṭhākur Nandū who was presented with the Sanad. The taxes described are, Chhīṭā (tax in respect of ordinary marriages) būndā (tax for widow marriage), gavāri manai (tax for the desertion by a wife) and muari (tax on the property of deceased persons in the family).

The administration of these Haihaya Kings continued till 1750 A.D. when the Bhonslās of Nagpur occupied Chhattisgarh.

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## CHAPTER VII

## RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The epigraphic records as well as the monuments of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur testify to the wide prevalence of the Brāhmaṇical religion in Dakshiṇa Kosala. Before discussing the major religious cults, it would be appropriate to find out the necessity of religious bent of mind of the man living in that age. As far as our information goes, the underlying idea behind all religious merits appears to have been the realisation of the transitoriness of human existence and worldly possessions. This thought was always present before the man of early mediaeval age and it is echoed in the inscriptions of this dynasty also. The Koni stone-inscription states that 'having realized that human life is unsteady like the flapping of the elephant's ears and is subject to innumerable sorrows, and that wealth, being momentary is extremely disagreeable, the mind of that illustrious Purushôttama which had become purified by the constant study of the various Śāstras, Purāṇas and Vedas, became solely intent on the acquisition of religious merit.'[1] Almost the same idea is repeated in the Ratanpur[2] (V.E.1297), Mallār[3](K.E.919) and the Kharod[4](K.E.933) inscriptions.

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1. मानुष्यं करिकर्णतालचपलं निःसंख्य दुःखास्पदं । लक्ष्मीं च क्षणभङ्गसङ्गविरसामेकान्त मालो [कयं] च । नानाशास्त्रपुराणवेदसतताभ्यासैः समुन्माजितं तस्य श्री पुरुषोत्तमस्य समभूद्धर्म्मैकनिष्ठं मनः ॥
   - C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.469.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.487.
3. Ibid., p.515.
4. Ibid., p.538.

As regards the religious cults prevalent in Dakshiṇa Kosala, during the period under review, the epigraphs refer to the sacrificial worship, Śaivism, Vaishṇavism, Śāktism and the Sun-worship.

SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP:

It is generally believed that the Vedic sacrifices were discouraged in the early mediaeval age. But the religious ceremonies of various nature are known to have been performed by some of the Brāhmaṇas of Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Pāragāon plates of K.E. 897, record that the donee Padmanābha became well-known in the whole world as one who had performed a great sacrifice.[1] The Ratanpur stone-inscriptionof K.E. 915 also informs that in the sacrificial enclosures in Talahāri-maṇḍala, the line of smoke touched the expanse of the sky and the peacocks mistook it for a multitude of clouds.[2] Similarly the Malhār stone-inscription of K.E. 919, further refers to the rows of sacrificial fire-pits and the recitation of the Vedic texts at the house of the Brāhmaṇa Sômarāja.[3] These evidences are sufficient to prove the continuance of the traditional Vedic sacrifices in the times of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

ŚAIVISM:

Śaivism was the predominant cult in Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur were devout worshippers of

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.429.
2. Ibid., p. 504.
3. Ibid., p.515.

Śiva.[1] It is said that the Kalachuris had obtained the Kingdom of Dakshiṇa Kosala by the grace of the god, Vaṅkêś-vara.[2] The temple of the holy Vaṅkêśa existed at Tummāṇa, the old capital of the Ratnapura Kings. Vaṅkèśa or Vaṅkêśvara may be the Prākrit form of Vakrêśvara meaning Śiva.[3] Besides Vankesvara, the temples of Siva were erected at several places under the names of Ratnêśvara[4], Pṛithvīdêvêśvara[5], Śambhu[6], NIlakaṇṭha[7], Pārvatīvallabha[8], Bhôgīśvara[9], Dhūrjati[10], Tryambaka[11], Śrīkaṇṭha[12], Pārvatīpati[13], Sômanātha[14], Smarasūdana[15], Kêdāradêva[16], Bhūtabhartṛi[17], Hara[18], Tripurāri[19], and Bilvapāṇi.[20]

Almost all the stone-inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur open with the usual invocation to Śiva - '<u>Om namaḥ Śivāya</u>'[21] The opening verses of these stone-inscriptions and also the specimens of sculpture found at Tumān, Ratanpur, Pālī, Jānjgir, Nārāyanpur, Mallār and Kharod depict Śiva in the forms of Chandraśêkhara, Nāṭyêśvara, Umā-Mahêśvara, Kalyāṇa-Sundara,

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1. <u>C.I.I.</u>, Vol. IV, p.406.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, p.399-400
3. [illegible], Vol. XXI, p.163.
4-5. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol.I, pp. 34 ff.
6. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. XXVII, pp.276 ff.
7-14. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. XXVI, pp.255 ff.
15-16. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. I, pp.40 ff.
17-19. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. XXI, pp.159 ff.
20. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol.I, pp.45 ff.
21. <u>C.I.I.</u>, Vol.IV, p.[illegible].

Rāvaṇānugraha and Andhakāsuravadha. Umā-Maheśvara seems to be the most popular form of Śiva in Dakshiṇa Kosala.

The Śaiva cult, included besides Śiva, the worship of the consort of Śiva i.e. Pārvatī and his sons Kārttikêya and Gaṇêśa. The Kharod inscription[1] refers to the erection of the temples of Ekavīrā, Durgā, Heramba and Tuṇṭā-Gaṇapati. The images of Umā[2] along with her lord, and of Kārttikêya[3] and Gaṇêśa[4] are available at Pālī, Ratanpur, Jānjgir and elsewhere.

Nandi, the vāhana of Śiva is also eulogised in a verse in the Koni stone-inscription.[5] Nandi in the form of a bull is invariably found on the pedestals of the Umā-Mahêśvara panels.

For the popularity of the Śaiva cult, the credit must be given to the rulers and their preceptors, who were the Śaiva ascetics, adhering to the Śaiva school of philosophy.[6] These Rājagurus belonged to the Golakī-Maṭha of the Ḍāhala region.[7] The Kosala line of the ascetics was most probably started by Rudraśiva, the guru of Jājalladeva I, who is described in the Ratanpur stone-inscription of the year 866, as conversant not only with the Siddhāntas of his own but also with those of others including the authoritative works of Dinnāga[8]. The Asiatic Society charter of Govindachandra [9] mentions Rudraśiva as the

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.539.
2. Photographs Nos. 67,68,73, 91.
3. Photographs Nos. 16,59,92.
4. Photograph No. 59.
5. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.467.
6. Ibid., Vol.IV, Introduction, p.CLix.
7. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, pp.156-57. 8. C.I.I., Vol. IV,p. 414.
9. J.A.S.B., Vol.XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

Rājaguru of Yaśaḥkarṇa in his early period. As both these rulers were on friendly terms with Jājalladeva I,[1] it is most likely that Rudraśiva came from Ḍāhala region and established a branch of the Golakī-Maṭha in Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Ratanpur stone-inscription further informs that Jājalladeva I also constructed a sanctuary for the ascetics ( tāpasa-maṭha) at Jājallapura,[2] which was obviously meant for his guru and the latter's followers. Another such residence for the ascetics was built near Kharod in the reign of Ratnadeva III.[3] The Bilaigaḍh plates of the year 969, belonging to the last Kalachuri ruler Pratāpamalladeva, refer to another Śaiva Āchārya Īśānaśiva[4] and this suggests that there was probably an unbroken line of the Rājagurus of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur running for atleast one hundred years. As the names of these ascetics after Rudraśiva are not mentioned in the dynastic records till the time of Īśānaśiva, a contemporary of the last ruler, Pratāpamalladeva, the point needs further support.

The Rājim stone-inscription of the year 896 similarly mentions another ascetic, the holy Muktātman, who was the owner of the temple of Rāma and was engaged in practising self-control, observing religious vows, studying the sacred texts and also spending his time in meditation[5]. The holy Muktātman probably belonged to the

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1. E.I. Vol. I, pp.34 ff.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.414.
3. Ibid.,p539.
4. Ibid., p.553.
5. Ibid., p.455.

Siddha School of Śaivism, as the Siddhas are, elsewhere, referred to have been performing painful austerities and to have been worshipping at the temple of Rāma.[1]

The other sects of Śaivism, such as the Kāpālikas and the Kaulas have not been mentioned in the inscriptions of this dynasty.

VAISHNAVISM:

The Kalachuri Kings of Ratanpur were devout worshippers of Śiva. But Vaishṇavism also played an important role in the religious history of Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Rājim inscription begins with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa in place of Śiva, and records the construction of a temple of Rāma.[2] The Kharod inscription similarly informs about the erection of an extensive and beautiful maṇḍapa of Śauri(Vishṇu)3. Another temple of Nārāyaṇa was constructed by the shoe-maker(môchī) Devapāla at the town of Khalvāṭikā.[4]

The door-way lintels of all the Kalachuri monuments of Chhattisgarh, as a rule, have the image of the Hindu Trinity, viz. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, the presiding deity always occupying the central niche[5]. An unfinished temple of Vishṇu at Jānjgir is one of the most beautiful monuments of the Kalachuri times.

The ten incarnations of Vishṇu seem to have been popular in this age. The two jambs of the door-way at Tumān are decorated with the ten avatāras of Vishṇu.[6] Similarly the side niche on

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1. The Rewa Stone-inscription of Malayasimha of the year 944, C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.352.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 455.
3. E.I., Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.
4. C.I.I., Vol. Iv, p.577.
5. See, Chapter X, Architecture.
6. Photograph No. 1.

the left of the presiding deity i.e. Siva, depicts Vishṇu in the yāmana form riding on his vāhana the Garuḍa.[1] Among the other forms of Vishṇu, Narasiṁha[2] and yarāha are represented on the southern exterior wall of the Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir. Rāma and Kṛishṇa were the most popular deities under the Vaishṇave cult at this time. This was probably the beginning of the Bhakti-movement, which absorbed the whole country afterwards. This movement centred round the worship of Rāma and Kṛishṇa, who, provided the immortal theme for the 'Bhāgavata-bhakti' of the mediaeval times.[4] For our purpose, we get the information from the Rājim inscription of K.E. 896, that the Kshtriya princes listened to and read the works such as the Bhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] Some interesting Rāmāyaṇa scenes are also illustrated on the platform of the incomplete temple of Vishṇu at Jānjgir.[6] The story of Rāmāyaṇa attracted the learning of the day. The poet Nārāyaṇa is praised for the authorship of the Rāmābhyudaya Kāvya in the Pujāripāli inscription of Gôpāladêva.[7]

The images of Vishṇu are found independently or in the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa form. A four-handed image of Vishṇu[8] is found at Ratanpur and is, at present, housed in the Raipur

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1. Photograph No.4
2. Photograph No. 41.
3. Photograph No. 42.
4. Bhandarkar, R.G.:'Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems', Collected works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol.Iv, p.65.
5. पुराण्यागमसा (शा)स्त्राणां श्रोता वै भारतादिभि: ।।
   रामायण मुखा: सर्वे वक्ता जीवधरोपि च ।
   - C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 455.
6. Photograph Nos.45-51.
7. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 592.
8. Photograph No. 94.

Museum. Lakshmī, as the consort of Vishṇu, appears to have been associated with the worship of Vishṇu. Two images of Vishṇu in the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa form, one from Śeôrīnārāyan[1] and the other from Gataurā[2] depict the lord in association with the goddess seated, on the Garuḍa. An image of Lakshmī has also been noticed at Mallār, where it is enshrined in a modern temple.[3] Lakshmī occupied the prominent place in the form of Gaja-Lakshmī i.e. the figure of Lakshmī seated on a lotus, with an elephant on either side pouring water over her, one the royal seals of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.[4]

Thus, both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism became the predominant cults in Dakshiṇa Kosala in the Kalachuri times and both the cultsdeveloped in perfect harmony. This is evidenced from the fact that the writer of the Rājim record Ṭhakkura Jasānanda is described as a devout worshipper of Śiva and also of Vishṇu at the same time.[5]

BRAHMĀ

Unlike Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, no independent cult of Brahmā appears to have been current in Dakshiṇa Kosala. As a member of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā always occupies the right niche of the door-way lintels of the temples at Tumān, Pālī, Ratanpur and Jānjgir. The Tumān doorway depicts Brahmā

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1. Photograph No.72.
2. Photograph No.78.
3. See Chapter X, Architecture
4. C.I.I., Vol. IV, plate opposite p. 625.
5. Parama Māhêśvara Param Vaishṇava, Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 455.

sitting in 'Lalitāsana' with his vāhana Haṁsa below the right leg.[1] An image of Brahmā is also found near the doorway of the Śiva temple at Pālī.[2] The southern face of the Śiva temple at Jānjgir has another panel of Brahmā.[3]

A figure of Saraswati is depicted on the northern wall of the Pālī temple.[4] Another image of the goddess is found at Kharod, which is a beautiful piece of Kalachuri art.[5] But these images are carved independently and we have no reason to connect them with the worship of Brahmā.

SUN-WORSHIP

The Sun-worship formed a part of the Brāhmaṇical religion of the age. The Kharod inscription refers to the erection of a temple dedicated to Sūrya at Pahatakapura?[6] A shrine of Āditya is still in existence at Nārāyanpur and it stands there on the north-east corner of the Śiva temple.[7]

Sūrya as one of the nine planets is invariably depicted on the doorway lintels of the Kalachuri temples at Tumān, Pālī, Ratanpur, Jānjgir and at other places. The images of the Sun are carved on the outer walls of the Śiva temples at Pālī[8] and Jānjgir.[9] A rare sculpture of Sūrya is found on

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1. Photograph No. 3.
2. See Chapter on Architecture.
3. Photograph No. 58.
4. Photograph No. 22.
5. The Art of India And Pakistan, p, 59.
6. E.I., Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.
7. Photograph No. 62.
8. Photograph No. 17.
9. Photograph No. 57.

the western face of the Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir.[1] Sūrya is generally depicted in the standing posture holding lotuses in both hands. Seven horses of the Sun-god are also depicted on the pedestals.

The worship of Rêvanta, the son of Sūrya was also associated with the Solar cult. The Akaltarā stone-inscription[2] of Vallabharāja records the construction of the temple of Revanta at Vikarṇapura, modern Koṭgaḍh, where an image of Sūrya[3] is still found on the enclosure wall of the Koṭ. Revanta was worshipped by the warrior class. The Pujāripāli inscription of Gopāladêva compares the warrior Gopāladêva to this deity by stating that 'he appears in every place mounted on a horse like Rêvanta.'[4]

SĀKTISM:

The period synchronised with the rise of a new cult of divine consorts. The philosophy behind this cult lay that God not alone but associated with His power(Śakti) is responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe and hence the mysterious association of the Supreme God with Śakti is to be recognised. Śaivism and Vaishṇavism of the age had already included divine consorts such as Umā and LakshmI in forms of Umā-Mahêśvara and LakshmI-Nārāyaṇa. An independent cult of Brahmāṇical Śakti goddesses

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1. Photograph No. 43.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 433.
3. Photograph No. 64.
4. कन्दर्प्प इव रूपेण गोपाल: सौ (शौ) मश्मूद्रक: ।
   स्थाने स्थाने ह्यारूढ़ो रैवन्त इव दृश्यते ।।
   - C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 592.

developed everywhere and Dakshiṇa Kosala was not an exception.

We have inscriptional as well as archaeological evidence to prove that Śāktism was popular in Dakshiṇa Kosala under the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The Kharod inscription[1] refers to the erection of a temple of Ēkavīrā resembling a Pushpaka on the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura. The same epigraph also records the construction of another temple of Durgā in the fortress. Dêvī and other goddesses were worshipped in the whole of Chhattisgarh. The Pujāripālī inscription[2] of Gopāladêva invokes the goddess under the names of Vārāhī, Vaishṇavī, Trayī, Nārasiṁhī, Aindrī, Chāmuṇḍā, Tvaritā, Tripurā, Mārīchā, Samayā, Jayā, Vijayā, Tārā, Vindhyavāsinī, Mahāmāyā, Mahākālī, Tôtalā, Charchikā, Kāmākshī, Mahālakshmī, Sarasvatī, Gaurī, Ambikā and Chaṇḍikā. Chāmuṇḍā[3] is depicted on the northern face of the Pālī temple. Similarly the doorway built into the wall of the Ratanpur fort has the representation of Saptamātṛikās or seven divine mothers.[4] A temple of Mahāmāyā[5] belonging to some later date still exists on the western side of Ratanpur. The tradition of the worship of Durgā continues even now with all solemnity on the part of the local folks.

TĀNTRIKA WORSHIP:

Some scholars call this period the Tāntrika Age.[6] We have but veiled reference to mystic doctrines and practices followed by some adherents of this cult. The Bilaigaḍh plates of the year 896, record that Brahmadeva, the well known

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1. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 165.
2. C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 590-91.
3. Photograph No. 21.
4. Photograph No. 24.
5. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.27.
6. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Sādhanamālā, Vol.II, Introduction, p. 3.

feudatory having learnt the Śākambharī-vidyā from Dêlhūka, obtained an easy victory over his enemies.[1] The Pujāripāli inscription similarly informs that the goddess was propitiated by Gôpāladêva by muttering the mantra a crore times and she granted him the boon of matchless strength, prowess and valour.[2]

SMĀRTA RELIGION:

Dāna:- Besides the adherance to the major Brāhmanical cults the traces of the Smārta religion are also found in Dakshina Kosala. The Smṛiti-writers like Manu lay emphasis on the merit of 'dāna'or charity in the Kaliyage.[3] The Kings of Ratanpur, following this dictum, made various land-grants, constructed a number of temples, monasteries and alms-houses and caused the digging of many tanks through out the Kingdom. Most of these grants were made on the occasion of the religious ' parvans' namely the Solar and lunar eclipses, makara Saṁkrānti, akshaya-tritīyā and also the Śrāddha-tithis. Out of fifteen grants, five were made at the time of the lunar eclipses,four on the occasion of the solar eclipses

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 461.
2. कोटिमन्त्रप्रभावेन (ण) पुनर्देवी वरं ददौ ।
   अतुलं तव गोपाल व (ब) लं वीर्यं पराक्रम: ।।

   -C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp. 591-92.
3. Manu, I, 86.
4. C.I.I., Vol. [illegible], p.[illegible].

two on the Saṅkrānti days, one on the tithi of akshaya-tṛitIya and one on the annual Śrāddha of the donor's father(i.e. Ratnadeva II, father of Pṛithvīdeva II). Another grant(Amodā grant of K.E. 831) was made for the increase of religious merit and fame of donors parents and of his own.[1] Sometimes the grants were made by way of thanks-giving after the escape from some calamity as in the case of the Amodā grant of Jājalladeva II of the year 919.[2]

Tīrtha: The inscriptions also throw a valuable light on the popularty of the pilgrimage to various 'tIrthas' or the sacred places in the different parts of India. The Sarkhon plates of the year 880, record that Mahasôṇa, the great grand-father of the donee Padmanābha observed a fast unto death for fifty days at Jāmbavat-tIrtha[3]. The practice of self-mortification or voluntary death at some holy place was in vogue for long in this country. According to Abū Zaid and Ibn Khurdādbah, persons who had grown very old and weak very often used to commit suicide in holy places, either by drowning or by burning themselves on auspicious days.[4] A number of such examples are known from other parts of the country. The Khajurāhô inscription of the Chandella Dhaṅga,

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.80.
2. E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.
3. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 427.
4. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 390.

makes a reference to the voluntary death of Dhaṅga at the sacred confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Prayāga.[1] The Khairahā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa of K.E. 823, also record that Gāṅgêyadêva Vikramāditya of Tripurī died with his one hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga.[2]

The importance of other tīrthas is likewise emphasized in the records of this dynasty. The Pujāripāli inscription refers to the tīrthas of Kêdāra, Prayāga, Pushkara, Purushôttama, Bhīmeśvara, Gopālapura, Vārāṇasī, Prabhāsa, Gaṅgāsāgara, Vairāgyamaṭha, Ashṭadvāra and Śauri-pura.[3] Most of these tirthas have been identified by Dr. Hiralal[4] and Prof. Mirashi[5] and they are scattered over the whole length and breadth of the country. Out of these places, Śauripura, according to Prof. Mirashi may be the famous Dvārakā in Saurāshṭra.[6] Dey identifies it with the town of Mathurā.[7] There are others who identify the place with its namesake near Baṭêśvara in Agra District. But the tīrtha of Śauripura should be identified with the present Śeôrīnārāyan, on the bank of the Mahānadī in the Bilaspur district, which is a well-known place of pilgrimage. Many of these places are

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1. Verse 55, E.I., Vol.I, p. 146.
2. Verse 12, C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 293.
3. Ibid., Vol IV, p. 592.
4. Hiralal: Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, pp.181-82.
5. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 590.
6. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 590.
7. Dey: The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 183.

glorified in the Purāṇas. Alberuni also refers to the merits of dāna and tīrtha supposed by the Hindus.[1]

BUDDHISM:

Yuan Chwang records that there were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10,000 brethren, all Mahāyānists in Dakshiṇa Kosala.[2] But the epigraphs of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur make no reference to any Buddhist monastery or congregation. It is strange that not a single Buddhist monument or art specimen of the Kalachuri period has come to our notice. The inscriptions, however, show that the thinkers and litterateurs evinced keen interest in the Buddhist canonical and Philosophical works. Rudrasíva, the guru of Jājalladeva I, is said to have been conversant with the works of Diṅnāga and others.[3] Poet Kāsála , who composed the Koni stone-inscription of K.E. 900, had knowledge of the three ratnas and had acquired mastery over the āgamas of the Buddha and others.[4] Similarly Sômarāja, the younger son of the donee, Gaṅgādhara of the Mallār inscription of the year 919, is described as Agastya in drinking up the irresistible ocean of the Buddhist doctrine.[5] In the Akaltarā stone-inscription of Vallabharāja also the tank Vallabhasāgara excavated by him, is compared to the Buddhist doctrine.[6]

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1. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 142 & 149.
2. Watters; On Yuan Chwang's, Vol II, p.200.
3. E.I., Vol. I, pp. 34 ff.
4. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 470.
5. 'durvvāravau(bau) ddhāmvu(bu) dheh pānānanditakumbhasambhavamunih', - C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 515.
6. 'Saugatamatamiva lôkê Vallabha-sāgarasarôbhāti', Ibid., p.433.

The common man, however, lost his faith in the tenets of Buddhism. The Prabôdhachandrôdaya of Kṛishṇa Miśra(of the time of the Chandella Kīrttivarman) throws light on the general condition of the age. It is known from the play that the Buddhist sect lost its hold on the people at the rise of Vivêka[1] i.e. reason.

JAINISM :

The inscriptions make no reference to Jainism, but unlike Buddhism, the followers of Jainism were professing their creed in Dakshiṇa Kosala. Images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are found at Ratanpur[2], Dhanpur[3], Mallār[4] and Āraṅg.[5] The Jaina principles were,however,criticised on the philosophical grounds by the adherents of the Brāhmaṇical systems. Sômarāja, the younger son of the donee Gaṅgādhara of the Mallār stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II, is described as a god of death to the naked(Jainas).[6]

Hatred towards other faiths on the part of the Hindus probably reflects the tendency of the age, which has already been noticed by the foreigners such as Alberuni and others.[7] The author of Prabôdhachandrôdaya similarly shows aversion to Buddhism at the hands of the exponents of the Brāhmanical systems.[8]

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1. Prabôdhachandrôdaya, Act V, pp. 176-77.
2. Photograph Nos. 88, 89, 95 & 96.
3. Photograph Nos. 82 & 83.
4. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.61.
5. Raipur District Gazetteer, pp. 65-66.
6. यश्चाव्वार्कि विशाल मानमलनो दुर्व्वार वौ (बौ) द्धाम्बु (म्बु) ॥
धे: पानानन्दितकुम्भ सम्भव मुनिर्दिग्वाससामन्तक: ॥

   - E.I., Vol.I, pp.39 ff.
7. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p.19.
8. Prabôdhachandrôdaya, Act II, p.54.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bilaigadh Plates, K.E.896. | Delhūka | x | x | Vatsa | Pañchapravara(Bhārgava, Chyavana,Āpnavāna, Aurva & Jāmadagnya). |
| Paragaon Plates, K.E.897. | Padma-nābha | x | x | Bhārgava | Pañcha-pravara:- Bhārgava, Chyavana,Āpnavāna, Aurva & Jāmadagnya. |
| Amoda Plates, K.E.900. | Sīlaṇa | (Yajur-veda) | Vājasa-neya | Chandrā-treya | Tri-pravara:- Chandra, Atri & Sāvana(Śyāvāśva)[1]. |
| Amoda Plates, K.E.905. | Sīlaṇa, Pīthana & Lakhaṇa | (Yajur-veda) | (Vājasa-neya) | Chandrā-treya | Tri-pravara:- Chandra, Atṛi & Spāvana (Śyāvāśva). |
| Mallara Stone-Inscr., K.E.919. | Somarāja | x | x | Krishṇā-treya | Tri-pravara:- Ātrêya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvāśva. |
| Amoda Plates, K.E.919. | Rāghava | x | x | Vatsa? | Pañcha-pravara:- Vatsa, Bhārgava,Chyavana, Āpnavāna & Aurva. |
| | Nāmadeva | x | x | Bharad-vāja | Tri-pravara:- Bharad-vāja, Āṅgirasa & Bārhaspatya. |
| Kharod Stone-Inscr. K.E.933. | Gaṅgā-dhara | x | x | Kāśyapa | (Tri-pravara - Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra & Naidhruva)[2]. |
| Pendra-bandh, Plates, K.E.965. | Sādhāra | x | x | Pārāśara | (Tri-pravara- Vasishṭha, Śakti & Parāśara)[3]. |
| Bilai-gadh Plates, K.E.969. | Haridāsa | x | x | Sāṅkṛita | Tri-pravara:-Sāṅkṛitya, Āṅgirasa & Vānaspatya (Gaurivīta)[4]. |

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1. Gotra-Pravara Mañjarī, trans. by J.Brough, pp.140-141.

2. Ibid., p.160.

3. Ibid., p.176.

4. Ibid., p.124.

The Brāhmaṇas, in addition to gotras and pravaras, also used the honorifics and appellations, such as Ṛishi[1], Śrī[2], Paṇḍita[3], Ṭhakkura[4], Śárman[5], Trivedī[6], Dīkshita[7], Tripāṭhī[8], and Miśra[9], the last two occurring in the mediaeval records of this dynasty.

Ordinarily, the Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to their six-fold duties, enjoined in the Smṛitis[10] and other literature[11]

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1. Ṛishi Kesáva of the Amoda Plates, K.E.831, E.I.,Vol.XIX, pp.75ff.
2. Sri Padmanābha of the Sarkho plates, K.E.880, E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.159ff.
3. Paṇḍita Rāghava of the Amoda Plates, K.E.919, E.I., VolXIX , pp.209ff.
4. Purohita Ṭhakkura Nāmadeva of the Amoda Plates, K.E.919, Ibid., pp.209ff.
5. Nārāyaṇasárman of the Seorinarayan plates, K.E.878, I.H.Q., Vol. IV, pp.31ff.
6. Vishṇu Trivedī of the Daikoni plates, K.E.890, C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.443-446.
7. Padmanābha Dīkshita of the Pāragāon plates, K.E.897, Ibid.,Vol.IV, p.629.
8. Devadatta Tripāṭhī of the Kosgain stone- inscription, Ibid., Vol.IV, p.561.
9. Dāmodara Miśra of the Khalāri stone-inscription, V.E.1470, Ibid., Vol.IV, p.578.
10. अध्यापनमध्ययन यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहं चैव ब्राह्मणानामकल्पयत् ॥
-Manu,I,88.
11. इज्याध्ययनदानानिकर्माणितुद्विजन्मनाम्
प्रतिग्रहोध्यापनंचयाजनं ब्राह्मणोधिकम् ॥
-Śukranīti, 4,257.

of the age. The Pāragāon plates of Pṛithvīdeva II(K.E.897) refer to the donee, Padmanābha, who studied and taught the Vedas, performed sacrifices at his own house and at others' and also made charity and accepted gifts.[1] Almost all the Brāhmaṇa donees, figuring in the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, are said to have been well-versed in the Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, Āgamas, all philosophical systems and various arts. Besides literature and philosophy, some of the Brāhmaṇas attained proficiency in other subjects. Padmanābha of the Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva II(K.E.880) became proficient in astrology. When in the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadeva II, Padmanābha correctly predicted the occurrence of a total lunar eclipse, he was granted a village by the king for his mastery over the subject.[2] Similarly Delhūka of the Bilaigaḍh Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II(K.E.896) knew Śākambharī-Vidyā, by which Māṇḍalika Brahmadeva got easy victory over his enemies.[3] Some of the Brāhmaṇas, after receiving their education, also imparted instruction to their pupils. The Ratanpur (Bādal Mahal) stone- inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II (K.E.915) refers to the teachers of the Talahāri-maṇḍala, who took to teaching profession and engaged students for teaching

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1. यद्वेदाध्ययनेन विस्मयमगादध्यापनेनान्वहं स प्रीतश्चतुराननोपि यजनाद्यस्योच्चकैर्याजनात्
देवः सोपि स (श) क्रतुः स च गिरामीशः स दानात्पुनः कर्णो नास्ति
यदप्रतिग्रहतया तुल्यो अश्रोत्रियः ॥
- C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.629.

2. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.427.

3. Ibid., Vol. IV, p.461.

purposes.[1] Similarly the epigraph informs about the sacrificial enclosures in the Talahāri-maṇḍala, where the line of smoke touched the expanse of the sky.[2] Padmanābha of the Sarkho Plates[3] (K.E.880), Padmanābha Dīkshita of the Bilaigaḍh Plates[4] (K.E.897) and Somarāja of the Mallār stone-inscription[5](K.E.919), all are eulogised for the performance of sacrifices ( makha-karma ). Lastly, the land-grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur throw valuable light on the fifth and sixth duties of the Brāhmaṇas i.e. dāna and pratigraha. The learned and pious Brāhmaṇas were given grants of land on the occasion of eclipses, Saṅkrānti, Akshaya-tṛitīyā and Śrāddha-tithis. These land-grants appear to have been exempted from taxation in accordance with the provisions of the Dharmaśāstra literature. The Koni stone-inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II ( K.E.900) gives an interesting information about the gift of a village made to the Sarvādhikārin Purushottama by the King Pṛithvīdeva II and the former in his turn granting some land to the temple and also to a learned Brāhmaṇa, named Vāsudeva.[6] The references, therefore, suggest that the traditional six-fold duties ( Shaṭkarma) of the Brāhmaṇas were still performed by the Brāhmaṇas of Dakshiṇa Kosala in the Kalachuri period. The Shaṭkarma performances of the Brāhmaṇas appear to have been a general feature of the age, as the references to the Brāhmaṇas,engaged in the performances of these six-fold duties ( Shaṭkarmmābhiratah ) are found in the records of the contemporary dynasties like the Kalachuris of Tripurī[7]and the Chandellas of Jêjākabhukti.[8]

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV,p.504.
2. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.504.
3. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.427.
4. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.629.
5. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.515.
6. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.469-70.
7. Rewa Plate of Jayasimhadeva, K.E.926, Ibid., Vol.IV,p.342.
8. Khajurāho Inscription of Dhangadeva of the year 1059,Renewed by Jayavarmadeva in the year 1173,E.I.,Vol.I,p.146,V.53; and Charkhārī Plate of Devavarmadeva,V.S.1108,Ibid.,Vol.XX,p.128.

A majority of the Brāhmaṇas, of course, followed the traditional way of life. We have, however, references to some Brāhmaṇa families, occupying important administrative posts, normally meant for the Kshatriyas. A family of the Brāhmaṇa Soḍhadeva served the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur for several generations. Soḍhadeva got the hereditary ministership from Pṛithvīdeva I. His grandson, Purushottama, afterwards, was appointed as Sarvādhikārin , a post equivalent to that of the Prime Minister, by Ratnadeva II.[1] Similarly Gaṅgādhara, a scion of the Kāśyapa family, was made Prime Minister by Ratnadeva III.[2] There too, the essential qualities [3] of the Brāhmaṇas, such as self-control, forgiveness, religious merit, character, charity, learning and pure conduct, as also laid down by the Niti-writers[4],

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1. Koni stone-inscription, K.E.900, E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276ff.
2. Kharod stone-inscription, K.E.933, E.I., Vol.XXI, pp.159ff.
3. तस्यासीमदमक्षमादिकगुणग्रामैकविश्रामभूर्देवान्वयमण्डनो नयविदामाद्योनवद्यक्रम :।
प्रत्युद्यद्गुरुचारुपौरुषयु (जु) षां प्रज्ञावतामुत्तम: पुत्रोभूत्पुरुषोत्तमो भुवि
दधन्नाम स्वकं सार्थकम् ॥
-Koni stone-inscription, K.E.900, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.468, V.19; and

धैर्यौदार्यविवेकविक्रमयश: सौशील्यशास्त्रार्थ्यथै ।
शौचाचारपरामनन्यसदृशीं चाणक्यविद्यामपि ।
दृष्टवा चैव नितान्त तुष्टमनसा श्रीरत्नदेवेन य: ।
सद्विचारधुरीण एष विहित: प्राधान्यमात्ये पदे ॥
- Kharod stone-inscription, K.E.933, Ibid., Vol.IV, p.538, V.26.

4. ज्ञानकर्मोपासनाभिर्देवताराधनेरत : ।
शक्तांतोदांतोदयालुश्चब्राह्मणश्च गुणै: कृत: ॥
- Sukranīti, 1,40.

became the sole consideration of these appointments.

Thus the high standard of life and conduct practised by the Brāhmanas of Dakshiṇa Kosala won them the reverence and devotion of their Kshatriya kings[1] and other communities[2] living in Dakshiṇa Kosala. It is really strange, how the Śrutasāgara commentary on Yaśastilaka, interprets an allusion made in Yaśastilaka[3] that the Brāhmaṇas of Ratnapura were in the habit

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1. सकलगुणसमूह: सत्यसाधारनामा कलचुरिकुलमान्यो यौमक्तस्य पुत्र: ।

- Pendrabandh Plates of Pratāpamalladeva, K.E.965, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.547.

2. In the Rajim stone-inscription of K.E.896, Jagapāladeva is said to have been reverent to Brāhmaṇas:-

` पात्रज्ञो सत्यवक्ता च द्विजदेवाग्निपूजक :`

-Ibid., Vol.IV, p.455; and Vāstavya Pratirāja of the Bilaigadh plates, K.E.969, also claims his natural devotion to the feet of the twice-born, ' dvijāticharaṇeshu nisargga-bhaktyā,' Ibid., Vol.IV, p.553.

3. ` श्रूयतेहि - वंगीमण्डले नृपतिदोषादभूदेवेष्वास्रवोपयोग: ,
पारसीकेषु स्वसवित्रीसंयोग: , सिंहलेषु च विश्वामित्रसृष्टि
प्रयोग इति` ।

- Somadeva Suri's Yaśastilaka, with the commentary of Śrutasāgara Suri, 2 parts, ed. by Mm. Paṇḍita Śivadatta, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1916, p.95; also K.K.Handiqui: Yaśastilaka And Indian Culture, p.99.

of drinking wine. The obvious mistake on the part of the commentator, which is easily discernible, is that he identifies the Vaṅgī country with Ratnapura[1]. The Vaṅgī country is altogether a different region, and this difference has also been maintained in the Kuruspal stone-inscription[2] of the Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvaradeva, wherein Veṅgī and Kosala i.e. Dakshiṇa Kosala are mentioned as two different countries. The reference in question, has, therefore, nothing to asperse against the established reputation of the Brāhmaṇas of Dakshiṇa Kosala.

The Kshatriyas came next to the Brāhmaṇas. Among them were the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur and their relatives, who enjoyed the highest status in Dakshiṇa Kosala. The inscriptions of this dynasty refer to the Kalachuris as to have descended from Kārtavīrya Arjuna, who in his turn was born in the primeval race of the Moon;[3] while in most of the copper-plate charters, Kārtavīrya is said to have been born in the family of Manu Vaivasvata.[4] The ambiguity, therefore, suggests that their origin was somewhat obscure like other Rājput communities of early mediaeval age. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur were a branch of the

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1. वंगीमण्डले रत्नपुरपत्तने नृपतिदोषात् राजदोषात् ॥
भूदेवेषु ब्राह्मणेषु आसवोपयोगः मद्यपानम् ।`

   - Ibid.,pp. 95-96.

2. E.I., Vol.X, p.29.

3. Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I, K.E.866, E.I., Vol.I, pp.33ff.

4. Amoda copper-plates of Prithvīdeva I, K.E.831, E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75ff.

Kalachuris of Tripuri, as they trace their genealogy to one of the younger sons of Kokkala or Kokalla, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri.[1] A feudatory family of the Ṭhakkura Sāhilla, similarly belonged to the Rājamāla-Kula, and migrated to Dakshiṇa Kosala from the Vaḍahara country, near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh.[2] Another Kshatriya family of the Māṇḍalika Brahmadeva also lived in the Talahāri-maṇḍala of Dakshiṇa Kosala.[3]

The Kshatriyas, in fact, were the protectors of the society. The Smṛitis and the Niti-works prescribe, the protection of people, charity, performance of sacrifices, education and avoidance of sensual pleasures, as the duties of the Kshatriyas.[4]

As regards the early training or education of the Kshatriyas, the epigraphs seem to suggest that the Kshatriyas in Dakshiṇa Kosala did not study the Vedic works, although, Alberuni noticed the Brāhmaṇas teaching the Vedas to the Kshatriyas. The latter could learn them but were not allowed to teach them, even to a Brāhmaṇa.[5] The Rājim stone-inscription(K.E.896) informs us

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75ff.
2. Hiralal: Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, p.107.
3. E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.255ff.
4. प्रजानां रक्षणं दानमिज्याऽध्ययनमेव च ।
   विषयेष्वप्रसक्तिश्च क्षत्रियस्य समासतः ।।

   - Manu,I,89. The Śukranīti( Adhyāya 4, Ślokas 257-58) besides:-

   ' इज्याध्ययनदानानिकर्माणितु द्विजन्मनाम् '
   also adds the following, among the duties of the Kshatriyas:-

   ' सद्रक्षणं दुष्टनाशः स्वांशादानं तु क्षत्रिये ।'
5. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol.I, p.125.

that the feudatory Jagapāladeva used to listen to the recitations of the Purāṇas, Āgamas and Śāstras such as the Bhārata and others[1] and used to read himself all such works as the Rāmāyaṇa[2]. There is, but, a solitary instance of Kshatriya Kumārapāla, an eminent poet born in the Haihaya family, who is said to have possessed a deep knowledge of the poetics, literature and politics.[3] He was a good calligraphist and claims to have written a number of Kalachuri records.[4] The main interest of the Kshatriyas, however, lay in the science of weapons(Śastra-vidyā). The Koni stone- inscription (K.E.900), states that Ratnadeva II had the full knowledge of the thirty-six sciences of weapons and his sole delight was in the festivity of battle.[5]

The early training of the Kshatriyas, in this way, made them fully equipped with all the requisites for their future life, as the members of the ruling class. They displayed their valour on the battlefield only in the time of war, but for the major part of their life, they gave a full proof of their political foresight, sagacity and just and wise rule. Above all

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1. 'पुराणागमशास्त्राणां श्रोतावे भारतादिभि: ।'

2. 'रामायण मुखा: सर्वे वक्ता जीवधरोपि च ।'

   - I.A., Vol.XVII, p.140.

3. Kharod stone- inscription of Ratnadeva III, K.E.933, E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165, V.42. Besides this record, Kumārapāla also composed the Seorinarayan stone- inscription of the Collateral Branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, K.E.919, C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.524.

4. Ratanpur stone-inscription,V.E.1207,E.I.,Vol.I,pp.45ff. Ratanpur(Bādal-Mahal) stone-inscription,K.E.915,Ibid.,Vol.XXVI, pp.255ff. and Mallār stone-inscription,K.E.919, Ibid., Vol.I, pp.39ff.

5. 'shattrimśachchhastravidyāsvadhikaparichayah'and 'Samarotsa-vaikarasikah', C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.467.

they protected the society, punished the evil-minded persons, distributed wealth and land in charity and throughout their life exerted on piety. The records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repeatedly refer to the two foremost qualities of the Kshatriya masters namely righteousness and bravery.[1] The Niti-works of the age also enjoin these qualities of the Kshatriyas.[2] The Koni record eulogises King Prithvideva II, for his noble qualities[3], very similar to those, prescribed by Dharmaśāstra writers, referred to above.

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1. तस्यामजनि पृथ्वीशं धर्म्मशौर्यगुणान्वितं ।
स्वर्न्निन्ये धर्म्मतो वंश्यान् शौर्यच्च युधिविद्विषः ।।

- Ratanpur stone-inscription, K.E.866, E.I., Vol.I,p.35,V.14.

2. लोकसंरक्षणे दक्षाश्शूरो दांतः पराक्रमी ।
दुष्ट निग्रहशीलोयः सर्वैः क्षात्रिय उच्चयते ।।

- Śukranīti, 1,41.

3. संग्रामे कति नो जिता भुजभृतः प्रीता न के सज्जनाः ,
केषां द्वारि न वन्दिनां मदमुखा बद्धामहाद्दन्तिनः ।
सम्प्राप्ताः शरणं रणे कति न वा संरक्षिता : ,
क्ष्मामुजः पृथ्वीदेव महीभुजो विजयिनः के के न रम्या गुणाः ।।

- E.I., Vol. XXVII, p.281, V.13.

The Vaiśyas formed the third 'varṇa' or group of the social organisation and came next to the Kshatriyas. The inscriptions refer to three Vaiśya families, serving the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and exercising influence at the royal court. The Amoda copper plates[1] of Pṛithvīdeva I(K.E.831) and the Ratanpur stone-inscription[2] or Jājalladeva I(K.E.866), mention the Śreshṭhin Yaśa, who held the office of the Mayor of Ratnapura(Ratnapura-Pradhāna). The duties of a Pura-Pradhāna were similar to those of Grāmādhipati, who had to give protection to persons in his charge, against the out-laws and also to take care of them like their parents.[3] Śreshṭhin Yaśa proved very helpful to Ratnarāja I, in building up the extensive and glorious town of Ratnapura.

The traditional duties of the Vaiśyas, according to the Smṛitis[4] and the Dharmaśāstra works[5] were the Vedic studies,

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.75ff.
2. Ibid.,Vol.I, pp.33ff.
3. आधर्षकेभ्यश्चोरेभ्योऽधिकारिगणात्तथा ।
   प्रजासंरक्षणेदक्षोग्रामपौमातृपितृवत् ॥
   - Śukranīti, 2,170.
4. पशूनां रक्षणं दानमिज्याऽध्ययनमेव च ।
   वणिक्पथं कुसीदं च वैश्यस्य कृषिमेव च ॥
   - Manu, I,90.
5. क्रयविक्रयकुशलायै नित्यं पण्यजीविनः ।
   पशुरक्षाकृषिकरास्ते वैश्याः कीर्तिताभुवि ॥
   - Śukranīti, 1,42.

performance of sacrifices, charity, domestication of animals, cultivation, trade and commerce. It appears that the Vaiśyas of the age, generally kept themselves engaged in trade and commerce. There were, however, a few merchant families, which were assisting the ruling class through various administrative assignments. We are informed of another Vaiśya family of the feudatory Vallabharāja.[1] This family begins from Devarāja, who is said to have been a devoted feudatory of the ancestors of Ratnadeva II. His son Rāghava, the grandson Harigaṇa and the great-grandson Vallabharāja, all served the Kalachuri kings as ministers or feudatories and won many battles for their masters. Vallabharāja, the last descendant of this family, is glorified in the Akaltarā[2], Koṭgaḍh(Raipur Museum)[3] and Ratanpur (K.E.910)[4] stone-inscriptions, for his victory over the king of Gauḍa and for his military and religious activities. He was a contemporary of Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II and the dowager queen, Lāchchhalladevi looked upon him as her adopted son.[5]

Our information, although scanty, suggests that the Vaiśyas did not study the Vedas and philosophical works in that age. Alberuni also noticed that the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras were not allowed to hear, pronounce or recite the Veda.[6] The Akaltarā stone- inscription, vaguely accredits Rāghava with the knowledge of arts( Kalāvān) and also Vallabharāja, with the acquaintance

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1. Akaltarā stone- inscription, C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.430-436.
2. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.430-36.
3. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.436-442.
4. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.495-501
5. Koṭgaḍh stone - inscription, C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.440,V.16.
6. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol.I, p.125.

of various branches of knowledge( bahuvividhaśikshāparichaya)[1]. Śreshthin Ralhaṇa, another member of the Vaiśya community, is similarly praised for his intelligence(Saṁstuta-buddhinā), in the Kharod stone- inscription of Ratnadeva III( K.E.933).[2] The references,therefore, suggest that the Vaiśyas received a general education, comprising various arts and sciences.

The Vaiśyas lastly, like the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, were engaged in the performance of their religious duties. The feudatory Vallabharāja has been praised for the construction of the temple of Revanta, a vāhyālī and a tank, named Vallabhasāgara, at Vikarṇṇapura[3]. The Śreshṭhin Ralhaṇa of the Kharod record (K.E.933), similarly held the office of the Dharmakarmmādhikārin[4], evidently to manage the religious activities of the Ratanpur State.

Besides the higher castes, discussed above, the early mediaeval age is marked by the emergence of the Kāyasthas as an important community of the Hindu society. In the eleventh and the following centuries, the individual Kāyastha families are known to have risen to the highest public offices in different parts of India.[5] The inscriptions refer to some learned and

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.432-433.
2. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165, V.44.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.433 & 499.
4. E.I., Vol. XXI, p.165.
5. U.N.Ghoshal: Chapter on Social Condition, in the Struggle For Empire, p.477.

influential Kāyastha families, living in Dakshiṇa Kosala and enjoying the patronage of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur. Some of these families migrated to Dakshiṇa Kosala from the Chedi maṇḍala. A Vāstavya Kāyastha family of KIrttidhara, the owner of the Jaṁḍera village, served as the scribes of the Kalachuri kings, continuously for three generations. Most of the Royal charters were written by KIrttidhara, his sons Sūpaṭa and Vatsarāja, and grandson Dharmarāja.[1] Another family of the Vāstavya Govinda[2] came to the Tummāṇa- country from the Chedi-maṇḍala. The members of this family were well-versed in poetics and philosophical works. They used to take part in the learned discussions. Poet Ratnasimha, the son of Māme and the grandson of Govinda, composed the Mallār stone- inscription of Jājalladeva II (K.E.919). He claims to have acquired the knowledge of the philosophical systems of Kāśyapa ( Vaiśeshika ) and Akshapāda ( Nyāya )[3].

The Kāyasthas, according to the Dharmaśāstra works, were employed as the scribes for writing and maintaining the state-records.[4] The inscriptions also refer to some members of the Gauḍa ( Kāyastha ) family, serving as the Akshapaṭala[5]

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1. Ratanpur stone- inscription,(K.E.866,)Sarkho plates ( K.E.880 ), Bilaigadh plates, (K.E.896), Pāragāon plates,(K.E.897), and Amoda plates, (K.E.900,905 & 919).

2. Ratanpur stone- inscription, V.E.1207), E.I.,Vol.I,pp.45ff.

3. काश्यपीयाक्षपादीय नयसिद्धान्तवेदिना ।
   विपक्षवादिसिंहेन रत्नसिंहेन धीमता ॥
   - C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.515, V.23.

4. ' Kāyastho-lekhakah ', Śukranīti,2,420.

5. Akshapaṭala Anantapāla of the Ratanpur (Bādal-Mahal) stone-inscription, (K.E.915),C.I.I,Vol.IV, p.507,V.40.

( Record-keeper ) and Karaṇa[1], under the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

The Śūdras or the people of the inferior castes, were follwoing their traditional way of life. A community of the Rūpakaras or the Śilpins, is known from the various epigraphs of the dynasty. The members of this community, namely Bhāsala[2], Sāmpula[3] and Chhītūka[4] claim to have been renowned for their skill in the mechanical arts. The Śilpins and the artists were supposed to serve the society as a whole.[5]

Some of the well-to-do persons, belonging to the inferior and low castes, as scheduled in the Dharmaśāstras,[6] showed their zeal towards religion. Môchī Devapāla[7], a member of the shoe-makers' caste, constructed a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Khalvāṭikā, identified with the village Khalāri in the Raipur District. The fact suggests that some individual families belonging to the lower castes, lead a happy, prosperous and pious life.

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1. Karaṇa Pratirāja of the Pendrābandh plates, (K.E.965), C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.548, V.29.

2. Amoda plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, (K.E.831), E.I., Vol.XIX, p.75, V.22.

3. Ratanpur stone-inscription (V.E.1207) and Mallār stone-inscription,(K.E.919),C.I.I, Vol.IV,pp.488,V.28 & 515, V.26.

4. Seorinarayan stone-inscription,(K.E.919), C.I.I.,Vol.IV, p.524,V.41.

5. शिल्पज्ञाश्चकलावन्तो ये सदाप्युपकारकः ।
- Śukranīti,2,193.

6. Śukranīti, 2,194 - 203.

7. Khalāri stone-inscription, V.E.1470, E.I.,Vol.II,pp.228ff.

Marriage and position of Women:

For marriage, the words,'Pariṇaya'[1], 'Upayama'[2], and 'Pāṇigrahaṇa'[3] have been used in the Kalachuri records. The epigraphs, however, do not throw sufficient light on the various forms of marriage, prevalent in Dakshiṇa Kosala. It appears that people generally married in their own castes (Savarṇavivāha). We are informed that Ratnarāja I, married Nonallā,[4] the daughter of Vajuvarman, a Kshatriya prince of Komo- maṇḍala. Other Kalachuri queens,namely Rājallā[5], Lāchchhalladevī[6], Rāmbhallā[7], and Somalladevī[8] also hailed from noble Kshatriya families. The Rājim stone-inscription of Jagapāladeva (K.E.896), mentions Ṭhakkurājñī Udayā[9], the mother of Jagapāladeva, who evidently came from a Kshatriya family.

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.35,V.13.
2. Ibid.,Vol.I, p.35,V.18.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.432,V.8.
4. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.79,V.12; Ibid.,Vol.I,p.35,V.13.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, p.35,V.18.
6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.432, V.8.
7. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.524,V.38.
8. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.164,V.15.
9. C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.454,V.7.

The Brāhmaṇas and other communities also selected their brides from equal castes. The inscriptions refer to a number of married women( Kula-badhūs ) , namely Lakhamā[1], Jīvā[2], Raṇmā[3], Padmā[4], Śvetalladevī[5], Rambhā,[6] Prabhā[7], and Jāmhō[8], and some of them are said to have been honoured by their relatives.[9] This is an additional point to show that they received honour from their kinsmen,obviously for their noble parentage.

Although, the majority in society followed the principle of monogamy, the evidences, however, suggest that persons of the well-to-do families in all the higher castes practised polygamy. We know that the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara, Prime Minister of Ratnadeva III, had two wives, namely Raṇmā and Padmā.[10]

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVII, p.282, V.18.
2. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.164, V.22.
3. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.164, V.28.
4. Ibid., Vol.XXI, p.164, V.28.
5. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.499, V.30.
6. E.I., Vol.I, p.48,V.12.
7. Ibid., Vol.I, p.48,V.16.
8. Ibid., Vol.I, p.48,V.17.
9. 'sadā bandhujanābhipūjyā ', E.I., Vol.I,p.48,V.12.
10. रा (ण्म ) पद्मामिधे च द्वे भार्ये भक्तिपरायणे ।
व (ब) भूवतु: सदाचार पवित्रित कुलाश्रये ।।

- E.I., Vol.XXI, p.164, V.28.

Similarly the prince Ulhaṇadeva, a scion of the Collateral branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, had three queens, who followed him on his funeral pyre.[1] The Kāyastha Devagaṇa of the Ratanpur stone-inscription(V.E.1207), had two wives, Prabhā and Jāmhô.[2] These facts are sufficient to prove that polygamy was in vogue in Dakshiṇa Kosala, in the period under review. There were,however, exceptions to this rule, as queen Lāchchhalladêvī, according to the Kugdā record(K.E.893), is said to have been the lawful and only wife of Jājalladeva I[3]. The Akaltarā stone-inscription further elaborates the fact by recording that she became a co-wife of the Earth.[4]

A mutilated verse of the Ratanpur(Bādal-Mahal) stone-inscription(K.E.915), gives an interesting information regarding the union of a man and woman, by love and consent on both the sides. It is said that the Māṇḍalika Brahmadeva ' accepted a beloved, clad in a black garment who had just then fell in love with him.'[5] The evidence, although inconclusive, suggests that

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1. Seorinarayan stone-inscription,(K.E.919), C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.523-524.

2. E.I., Vol.I,p.48,Vv.16-17.

3. 'sadharmminī tasya tathāpyananyā Lāchchhalladêvī Mahishī babhūva,' C.I.I.,Vol.IV,p.447,V.3.

4. 'yā vasudhāsāpatnyam chakre Lāchchhalladêvīti,' C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.432,V.8.

5. '----- रजटल [श्यामांशुका] कान्तिमत्मान्द्रस्कार -
पयोधरा नवरता यैन प्रिया स्वीकृता ।'

- E.I.,Vol.XXVI, p.260,V.15.

sometimes the Kshatriya princes or feudatory chiefs married the wives of hostile warriors, who were defeated and killed in battle. We know from other works of the age that the King's seraglio, in that period, consisted of a large number of women. Some of them were captured in war. Among the married wives of a king, the mention is made of'Phālākalī', a lady who was won in war.[1] The capture of the women of hostile warriors or enemies,in war, appears to have been a common practice in Ancient India. The Smṛitis include women among the spoils of victory.[2] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I ( K.E.866), states that Jājalladeva I, defeated Someśvara and imprisoned him together with his ministers and wives. The Kalachuri king, afterwards, released them at the intercession of his mother.[3] This tendency is also noticed in the records of the contempory dynasties. The Khajurāhô stone-inscription of the Chandella Dhaṅgadeva (V.S.1059) refers to Dhaṅga's imprisoning of the wives of the kings of Kāñchī, Āndhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga.[4]

As regards the position of women, the Kalachuri records from Chhattisgarh give very little information about the three stages of womanhood, namely of daughter,wife and mother.

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1. Vaijayantī, 106,31-34, by Yadavaprakasa, ed. by Gustav Oppert, Madras,1893, quoted by Dr.U.N.Ghoshal in his chapter on Social Condition, published in The Struggle For Empire,p.479.
2. Manu, VII, 96.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.413,V.22.
4. E.I., Vol.I, p.145,Vv. 45-46.

The Smritis lay down that woman should always remain under the protection of her male guardian i.e. father, husband or son, and she should never think of her own independent status.[1] We find that women in Dakshina Kosala also lived under the supervision of their husbands or other male relations.

To begin with the position of the daughter in a family, the epigraphs praise the pure and virtuous conduct of a daughter. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Prithvideva II (V.E.1207), refers to Bhopa, the virtuous daughter of Devagana of the Vastavya race. She is said to have been untouched by the evil actions of the Kali Age and has been compared to the celestial river, purifying the three worlds.[2] Not only son, but the daughter also inherited the fame and good name from her father. Nonalla, the queen of Ratnaraja I, has always been referred to in the Kalachuri records, as the famous daughter of Vajjuka, the ruler of the Komo-mandala.[3]

The daughter, after marriage, entered the second stage of her womanhood. Alberuni informs that during this period, pre-puberty marriages of girls were prevalent atleast among the Brahmanas.[4] The epigraphs do not give a clear indication on this

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1. पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने ।
रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा न स्त्रीस्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥
- Manu, IX, 3.

2. E.I., Vol.I, p.48,V.21.

3. Ibid., Vol.I, p.35,V.13; Ibid., Vol.XIX,p.79,V.12.

4. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol.II,p.131.

point. We have already seen that the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur refer to a number of Kshatriya queens and other married women, belonging to the higher castes. The virtuous ladies and their noble husbands, referred to therein, have been compared with the divine couples, viz. Śachī and Indra, Lakshmī and Vishṇu, and Pārvatī and Śambhu.[1] For their bodily charms and also for steadfastness in love towards the husband, the married women have also been compared to Rati and Arundhatī respectively.[2] Devotion to husband(Pātivrata), Chastity(viśuddha-śīla), virtuous conduct(sachcharitra) and truthful, pious and quiet nature( satya-dharmaratā śāntā)were considered as the foremost qualities of the true wifehood.[3] The epigraphs do not give a detailed information about the duties of the wife, but it appears that the married women generally lived in seclusion and performed their daily (naityika-karma) and occasional(naimittika-karma) duties, as laid down in the Smṛitis[4] and Dharmaśāstras[5]. The emphasis had been laid upon the wife's devotion to her husband and family, bearing of children and performance of religious duties. It was believed that by her chastity and virtuous conduct, the wife increased the happiness and prosperity of her family.[6]

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.35, V.18; Ibid., Vol.I, p.48,V.12.
2. Ibid., Vol.XXVII, p.282, V.18.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.454,V.7; E.I.,Vol.XXVII,p.282,V.18; Ibid., Vol.I, p.48,Vv. 12,16 & 17;Ibid., Vol.XXI,p.164,Vv. 15,22 & 28.
4. Manu, IX,25-28.
5. Śukranīti, 3,44-68.
6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.454, V. 7 ; E.I., Vol.XXVII,p.282,V.18.

The wife, after bearing a child, attained the status of the mother. The Smṛits[1] and the Dharmaśāstra works[2] bestow the highest honour on mother. The inscriptions refer to the Kshatriya mothers and their brave sons and they have been compared to the divine mothers and their sons, namely Śachī and Jayanta[3], Yaśodā and Krishṇa, and Pārvatī and Guha(Kārttikeya).[4] The Kalachuri queens have been praised for their virtues of compassion and large-heartedness. The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I(K.E.866) informs about the kind nature of the queen-mother, Rājalladêvī. It is stated therein that Jājalladeva I, imprisoned Someśvara together with his ministers and wives, but the former afterwards, released them, at the intervention of his mother.[5] At another place, the large-heartedness of the dowager queen Lāchchhalladêvī has similarly been praised. The Koṭgaḍh (Raipur Museum), Fragmentary stone-inscription records that the queen Lāchchhalladêvī treated the Vaiśya feudatory

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1. उपाध्यायान्दशाचार्य आचार्याणां शतं पिता ।
सहस्रंतुपितॄन्माता गौरवेणातिरिच्यते ॥
- Manu , II, 145.

2. नास्ति मातृसमाच्छाया नास्ति मातृसमा गति : ।
नास्ति मातृ समं त्राणं नास्ति मातृसमा प्रिया ॥
- Mbh., Śāntiparvan,251,29.

3. E.I., Vol.I, p.35,V.19.

4. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.440, V.16.

5. ' baddhaṁ mantrikalatrasārthamanu tanmāturggirā mochitaṁ', E.I., Vol.I, pp.35-36,V.22.

Vallabharāja, as her own son.[1] Both these examples, besides showing the magnanimous nature of the queen mothers, also allude to the fact that the dowager queens were treated with respect by their sons and the former exercised influence upon the administration of the state.

Thus women received honour inside the home and some of them, particularly the Kshatriya queens , even commanded respect and exercised influence upon the public. The married women (Sabhartṛikās)used to decorate their forehead with the vermillion(Sindūra) mark.[2] The epigraphs give a poetic description of the natural grief of the enemies' wives on the death of their husbands, who were killed in the battle.[3] The Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E.919) informs about the custom of the SatI by recording that the three devoted queens of the prince Ulhaṇadeva immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.[4] The Arab writers,[5] including Alberuni[6] also refer to the prevalance of the SatI custom in India. But the custom of the SatI was not so common in Dakshiṇa Kosala of this time even in the royal families, as was in the north.[7] We have the examples

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.440,V.16.
2. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.433, V.19.
3. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.433, V.19.
4. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.524, V.19.
5. Elliot, H.M.: History of India, Vol.I,p.6.
6. Sachau: Alberuni's India, Vol.II, p.155.
7. Kalhaṇa: Rājataraṅgiṇī, V, p.206; VII,pp.481, 724,858, 1486,1488,1490; VIII,p.366.

of the dowager queens, Rājalladêvī [1] and Lāchchhalladêvī,[2] who survived their husbands.

Lastly the epigraphs suggest that the joint family system was in vogue in Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Rājim[3], Konī,[4] Ratanpur[5] (V.E.1207) and Kharod[6] inscriptions refer to the large families, belonging to the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Kāyastha communities. These families included a number of brothers, sons and grandsons. The Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E.919), although, informs about the division of property among two brothers, after the death of their father, but the family of the younger brother, referred to therein, named Sarvadeva (the younger brother of Pṛithvīdeva I), in due course, grew so large, as to include a number of near relatives in it.[7]

Manners And Customs :

The villages and towns in Dakshiṇa Kosala played a vital role in moulding the social and cultural life of the people. The population was made up of different castes, based more or less on professional lines. Each group had to perform its duty towards the welfare of the society. Both Tummāṇa[8] and Ratnapura[9], the capital towns of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.35,V.18.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.432,V.8.
3. I.A., Vol. XVII, pp.135ff.
4. E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276ff.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.45ff.
6. Ibid., Vol.XXI, pp.159ff.
7. C.I.I., Vol.IV,pp.522ff.
8. Ibid., Vol.IV,p.412, V.10.
9. Ibid., Vol.IV,p.412,V.11.

were crowded with temples, gardens, mango-groves, lakes and palatial buildings. The Talahāri-maṇḍala, which included the towns of Mallāla, Varelāpura, Nārāyaṇapura, Tejallapura and Kumarākoṭa and the villages of Goṭhālī, Bamhaṇī and Charauya, is suggested to have been the ornament of the earth ( Viśvam-bharābhūshaṇam) and it was surrounded on all sides by temples, gardens and lakes, besides the gurukulas and the sacrificial enclosures, humming with activities.[1] A mediaeval record from Khalāri gives a glimpse of the life in these towns and villages by stating that there the Brāhmaṇas were engaged in the study of the Vedas, rich men in their pleasure-pursuits and passionate women in their merry-makings.[2]

The Kalachuri records also throw light on certain customs observed by the people in Dakshiṇa Kosala. Most popular of them was the custom among the ruling chiefs, feudatories and wealthy individuals to build temples and make endowments for their maintenance. The Kalachuri kings and the wealthy persons also donated lands and other valuable things to Brāhmaṇas and scholars on the auspicious tithis and the Śrāddha days. When the grant was made, the donour, after

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.504, Vv. 5-8.

2. भूदेवायत्र वेदाध्ययनमनुरता: स्वस्तिमंतो वसंति
श्रीमंत: श्री विलासै स्मरपरिवृढं राजराजं हसन्त:।
कामिन्य: कामदेवं त्रिपुरहर दृशा दग्धमुज्जीवयंत्य:
प्रोद्यद्दीपूर्णिकांत्या स्मितमधुरगिरा मूलताडंव (ब) रैण ॥

- Khalāri stone-inscription of Haribrahmadeva, V.E.1470, C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.577, V.8.

filling his hand with water, kuśa grass, rice-grains and gold, announced the gift to the brāhmaṇa-donee and poured water on the latter's hand, as a mark of sanctity attached to the donor's own words.[1] The custom of the Satī, as known from the Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E.919), has already been discussed. The study of the Kalachuri sculptures of Chhattisgarh, reveals the knowledge of a peculiar custom of this area. We come across a number of inscribed statues, claimed to have been made of the learned brāhmaṇas[2], warriors[3] householders[4] and other devotees[5]. These statues were generally kept inside the temples of the famous religious centres, namely Seorinarayan, Kharod and Amarakaṇṭaka.

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1. ' kuśākshatahiranyasamanvitavārichulukamāpūrya, E.I., Vol.XIX, p.80, l.29.
2. Statue of Paṇḍita Dāmôdara, Photograph No.76.
3. Statues of Saṁgrāmasiṁha and Nārāyaṇa, Photograph Nos. 71 & 87.
4. Photograph Nos. 65, 69, 74, 85 & 86.
5. Photograph No.80.

Economic Condition:

Agriculture ( Kṛishi ), Cattle-breeding(Paśupālana) and trade (Vāṇijya) were considered the three pillars of the ancient Indian economics.[1] The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur furnish scanty data regarding the economic condition of the people in Dakshiṇa Kosala. It appears that agriculture continued to be the principal occupation of the people of this area during our period. The Amoda plates of Pṛithvīdeva I (K.E.831) inform that the four boundaries of the village were well-marked.[2] It suggests that besides other lands, the land under cultivation was also well-marked and a proper care was taken of the agricultural land. The Koni stone-inscription (K.E.900) further informs that the land was measured according to the ploughs used in cultivating it.[3] The epigraphs do not shed light on the cattle-breeding. We get, however, reference to horses and elephants used in war. The Akaltarā stone-inscription informs that the feudatory Vallabharāja was well-known for his horse-riding and was vehemently fond of the sport of capturing elephants on earth. He made the whole Vindhya-forest devoid of elephants and also captured the elephants of the king of Gauḍa.[4] The Vindhya-forests, according to this information, were the famous haunts of elephants.

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1. Kauṭilya, I, 4,1-3.
2. E.I.,Vol.XIX,p.80.
3. ' Medinī halachatvāri devebhyo' tha pradattavān haladvayaṁ dvijāyāsau Vāsudevāya dhīmateḥ,
   C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.470, V.38.
4. C.I.I, Vol.IV, p.433, Vv. 16-17.

Our period similarly saw the enormous growth of trade and industry. There were, of course, a large number of people, in the area under review, who were engaged in occupations other than agriculture. The inscriptions mention a number of the Rūpakāras (Sculptors) and the Śilpins(artisans), who evidently followed their hereditary professions. The famous towns of Tuṁmāṇa, Ratnapura, Jājallapura, Mallāla, Vikarṇapura, Nārāyaṇapura and Khalvāṭikā were noted for their grandeur and prosperity. The growth of city-life was naturally related to the growth of trade and industry. Besides the general prosperity of the people, the Kalachuri kings are said to have possessed seven fold fortune ( Lakshmī saptavidhāpi )[1] and they used to get the royal share from the people. They also augmented their Kośa by plundering the enemies treasuries.[2]

Lastly the glimpses of economic prosperity of Dakshiṇa Kosala under the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are afforded by a large number of coins of the Kalachuri kings, discovered at various places in Chhattisgarh and the adjoining Orissan tracts.

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1. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p.413, V.22.

2. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.78, V.5.

COINAGE:

The Coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are known to the Numismatists since the second quarter of the last century. The first copper coin of Pṛithvīdeva is known from the collection of General Cunningham.[1] A hoard of 56 gold coins was subsequently discovered in the former state of Sāraṅgarh in 1892 and three coins of the same type were found in the bed of the river Āng of the Paṭnā state after some time. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr.Hoernle[2], who attributed them to three kings of the dynasty, namely Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeve II, in the following manner:-

| Place | King | Shape | Large size | Small size | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sāraṅgarh State | Jājalladeva | Round | 9 | 17 | King's name | Some device |
| | Ratnadeva | Round | - | 29 | " | " |
| | Pṛithvīdeva | Round | 1 | - | " | " |
| River Ang | Jajalladeva | Round | 2 | 1 | " | " |

The coins of the dynasty were further discovered at a number of places in Chhattisgarh and Orissa(Sonepur region). In 1921-22, the largest hoard of 600 coins was discovered at Sonsārī in the Bilaspur District, which has been referred to

1. J.A.S.B., Vol.V (1836), Pl XXXIX, facing p.654.

2. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1893, pp.92ff and 141ff.

by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya[1] and Prof. Mirashi[2]. The coins have been described as under:-

| King | Shape | Large size | Small size | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jājalladeva | Round | 29 | 7 | King's name | device |
| Ratnadeva | " | 68 | 28 | " | " |
| Pṛithvīdeva | " | 405 | 54 | " | " |
| Govinda-chandra | | 2 | - | - | - |
| Unidentified | | 7 | - | - | - |

Out of seven unidentified coins, four coins have again been identified by Shri Balchandra Jain and they have been attributed to the Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvaradeva of Chakrakoṭya,[3] who was a contemporary of Jājalladeva I.

After the discovery of the Sonsārī Hourd , two more hoards of gold coins were found in 1940, one of 136 gold coins from the village Dalal Siwanī in the Raipur District and other of 12 gold coins of Pṛithvīdeva from the Bhagond village in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilaspur District. The Dalal Siwanī Hoard contained the coins of the three Kalachuri kings,in the following manner:

| King | Shape | Large size | Small size | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jājalladeva | Round | 28 | 1 | King's name | device |
| Ratnadeva | " | - | 3 | " | " |
| Pṛithvīdeva | " | 67 | 37 | " | " |

1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.XII, pp.177-178.

2. J.N.S.I., Vol.III, p.27.

3. Ibid., Vol.XVII, pp.54-57.

Besides, Chhattisgarh, 27 Kalachuri gold coins were found in the former Sonpur State[1] and another hoard of 10 gold coins was discovered in a village, named Ratanpur in Khurda Sub-Division of Puri District[2] in Orissa.

Similarly copper coins of four kings of this dynasty, namely Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva, Pṛithvīdeva and Pratāpamalladeva have been found at different places in Chhattisgarh. In 1936, the largest hoard of about 200 copper coins was discovered in the former Khairagarh State and the other hoard of 48 coins was found at Talorā in the Raigarh District. Nearly 106 copper coins of Ratnadeva have again been unearthed in the Sirpur excavation[3] in 1955 - 56.

Lastly, a few silver coins[4] of Pṛithvīdeva were reported by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya from his village, Bālpur, situated on the bank of the Mahānadī river in the Raigarh District.

Prof. V.V. Mirashi has studied the Kalachuri gold coins from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the coin-cabinet of Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya and the different varieties of the coinage of the Kalachuries of Ratanpur are

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 - 201.
2. Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 58 - 63.
3. Indian Archaeology 1955 - 56 — A Review, p. 26.
4. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XII, pp. 169 ff.; J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 41 - 42.

described as follows:

| Metal | Shape | Size-diameter in inches | Weight in grains | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Jājalladeva:** | | | | | |
| AV. | Round | .8 | 61 | Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a dotted circle (1) Śrīmaj-J[ā] (2) jallade (3) va. | Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below.[1] |
| AV. | Round | .47 | 15½ | Legend in two lines (1) Śrīmaj-J[ā] (2) jallade. | As above.[2] |
| AE. | Round | .7 | 43½ | Legend in two lines (1) Śrīmaj-J[ā] (2) jallade. | Two-armed Hanumān, trampling a demon.[3] |
| **Ratnadeva:** | | | | | |
| AV. | Round | .7 | 62 | Two-line Nāgarī legend (1) Śrīmad-Ra (2) tnadeva. | Lion to right attacking an elephant.[4] |

1. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 3; C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXV.

2. Ibid., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 4; Ibid., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXV.

3. Ibid., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 5; Ibid., p. CLXXXV.

4. Ibid., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 6; C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXVI.

| Metal | Shape | Size-diameter in inches | Weight in grains | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV. | Round | .45 | 15½ | Legend in two lines (1) Śrīmad-Ra (2) tnadeva | Lion attacking an elephant.[1] |
| AE. | Round | .9 | 100 | Two-line legend (1) Śrīmad-Ra (2) tnadeva. | Lion to right, with tail upraised.[2] |
| AE. | Round | .6 | 23½ | Two-line legend (1) Śrīmad-Ra (2) tnadeva. | A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion).[3] |
| **Prithvīdeva:** | | | | | |
| AV. | Round | .77 | 61 | Two-line Nāgarī legend (1) Śrīmat-Pṛi (2) thvīdeva. | Lion attacking an elephant.[4] |
| AV. | Round | .5 | 15 | Two-line legend as above. | As above.[5] |

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 7; C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXVI.
2. Ibid., - do - No. 8; Ibid., - do -
3. Ibid., - do - No. 9; Ibid., - do -
4. Ibid., - do - No.10; Ibid., - do -
5. Ibid., - do - No.11; Ibid., - do -

| Metal | Shape | Size-diameter in inches | Weight in grains | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AE. | Round | .85 | 99½ | Two-line legend (1) Śrīmat-Pṛi (2) thvīdeva. | Four-armed Hanumān to left. The god carries a mace and some other object (a hill?) in his upper hands. His remaining two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, whom he tramples under his proper right foot.[1] |
| AE. | Round | .75 | 68 | Two-line legend (1) Śrīmat-Pṛi (2) thvīdeva. | Hanumān to right, with a demon on left.[2] |
| AE. | Round | .85 | 99½ | Two-line legend as above. | Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right.[3] |
| AE. | Round | .8 | 73 | Two-line legend as above. | Lion with tail raised to right.[4] |
| AR. | Round | .35 | 6 | Two-line legend (1) Śrīmat-Pṛi (2) thvīdeva. | Shapeless figure of a lion.[5] |

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, Plate III, No. 13; C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXVI.
2. Ibid., - do - No. 14; Ibid., p. CLXXXVII.
3. Ibid., - do - No. 15; Ibid., - do -
4. Ibid., - do - No. 16; Ibid., - do -
5. Ibid., - do - No. 12; Ibid., p. CLXXXVI.

| Metal | Shape | Size-diameter in inches | Weight in grains | Obverse | Reverse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pratāpamalladeva:** | | | | | |
| AE. | Round | .8 | 38 | Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) Śrīmat-Pra (2) tāpama (3) lladeva | Lion.[1] |
| AE. | Round | .75 | 29 | Three-line legend (1) Śrīmat-Pra (2) tāpama (3) lladeva. | Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion. |

Only copper coins of Pratāpamalladeva have so far been discovered. They are either round or hexagonal in shape.

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 32 - 33; C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXVII, Plate A, Nos. 19 - 20.

From the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, three kings of the name of Ratnadeva are known. Similarly the names Pṛithvīdeva and Jājalladeva are repeated twice in the list. The attribution of these coins, therefore, becomes a difficult problem. Dr. Hoernle, while describing the Sāraṅgarh Hoard, attributed the Kalachuri coins from Chhattisgarh to Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II.[1] Cunningham, on the other hand, ascribed them to Pṛithvīdeva I, Jājalladeva I and Ratnadeva II.[2] Vincent Smith, although, suggested the possibility of the coins being attributed to earlier kings of the same names, but he assigned them to Pṛithvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III.[3] Mr. Allan pointed out the discrepancy of Smith's view by suggesting that, according to his Amoda plates[4] (K.E. 831), Pṛithvīdeva I was still a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and his son and successor, Jājalladeva I was the first independent ruler of the dynasty. Some of the coins bearing the name Pṛithvīdeva, in Mr. Allan's opinion, should be assigned to Pṛithvīdeva II and the rest with the names of

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1. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1898, p. 93.

2. Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, p. 76.

3. Smith, V.A. : Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Part III, Oxford, 1906, pp. 254 - 255, Pl. XXVI.

4. E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 79 - 80, l. 25.

Jājalladeva and Ratnadeva should be distributed between Jājalladeva I and II and Ratnadeva II and III.[1] The coinage of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur has further been discussed by Pandit L.P. Pandeya[2] and Prof. V.V. Mirashi.[3] Prof. Mirashi rightly suggests that Jājalladeva I appears to have struck the Kalachuri coins for the first time in this dynasty.[4] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I (K.E. 866) states that Jājalladeva I levied an annual tribute on the rulers of Dakshiṇa Kosala, Āndhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lanjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa.[5] Smith describes the specimens of Jajalladeva I's gold coins, discovered at Ganjam,[6] which suggest his influence over some of the areas referred to in the epigraph. The Ratanpur record further informs that the rulers of Chedi, Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti were on friendly terms with Jājalladeva I.[7] The contemporary kings of Chedi, Kānyakubja and Jejākabhukti were Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (A.D. 1073 - 1123), Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla[8] (A.D. 1110 - 1155) and

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1. Numismatic Chronicle, for 1937, pp. 298 ff; quoted by Prof. V.V. Mirashi in C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CLXXXVIII, f.n. 2.
2. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XII, Part III, Dec. 1939, pp. 169 - 178.
3. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, 1941, pp. 21 - 39; Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 208 - 212.
4. Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.
5. E.I., Vol. I, p. 36, l. 22, V. 23.
6. Smith, V.A. : Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Part III, p. 254, No. 3.
7. E.I., Vol. I, p. 35, ll. 19 - 20, Vv. 20 - 21.
8. C.I.I., Vol. IV, Introduction, p. CIV.

Sallakshaṇavarman[1] (c. 1100 - 1115 A.D.) respectively. Luckily the Sonsārī hoard contains two gold coins of Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla, who again by his long reign of nearly forty-five years was a contemporary of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II. The friendly relations between Jājalladeva I on the one hand and Yaśaḥkarṇadeva and Govindachandra on the other, may be further proved by the mention of the Śaiva ascetic Rudraśiva, who, according to the Asiatic Society of Bengal copper-plates[2] of Govindachandra and the Ratanpur stone-inscription[3] of Jājalladeva I (K.E. 866) appears to have been associated alike with the aforementioned kings of Chedi, Kanyakubja and Ratanpur. The coinage of Jājalladeva I similarly proves the friendly relations between the Kalachuri king and the Chandella Sallakshaṇavarman. Jājalladeva I used the Hanumān device on his copper-coins. The symbol was apparently borrowed from the copper-currency of the Chandella Sallakshaṇavarman.[4] In this way, Jājalladeva I appears to have issued the coinage of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur for the first time in this dynasty after receiving the necessary impetus from his allies, namely the Gāhaḍavāla and the Chandella kings. The attribution of the coins with the legend Śrīmaj-Jājalladeva

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1. E.I., Vol. I, p. 198, Vv. 9 - 10.
2. J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.
3. E.I., Vol. I, p. 36, l. 27, V. 28.
4. Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, p. 79, Plate VIII, No. 16.

to Jājalladeva I is also proved by the discovery of four coins of the Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvara of Bastar, from the Sonsārī-hoard.[1] The Ratanpur stone-inscription of Jājalladeva I (K.E. 866) refers to the defeat and the subsequent capture of Someśvara along with his ministers and wives, at the hands of Jājalladeva I.[2] After this incident, Jājalladeva I and Someśvara became on friendly terms with each other and this friendship as well as the contemporaneity of their age is corroborated by the availability of the coins of both the kings together in the Sonsārī-hoard.

Prof. Mirashi, further suggests that some of the debased gold coins with the legend Śrīmaj-Jājalladeva may be assigned to Jājalladeva II, as Jājalladeva II's reign was not very prosperous in the history of this dynasty.

After Jājalladeva I, the coins with the legends Śrīmad-Ratnadeva and Śrīmat-Pṛithvīdeva should be assigned to Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II respectively. Like his father, Ratnadeva II issued only gold and copper coins. In the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II, the dynasty attained its maximum prosperity, which is also reflected in the coinage of his reign. He continued the tradition of his father and grandfather and besides his gold and copper coins, also struck the silver coins, although his silver coins are extremely rare.

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. XVII, Part II, pp. 54 - 57.
2. E.I., Vol. I, pp. 35 - 36, v.22, l. 21.

Smith describes one gold coin of Pṛithvīdeva from Ganjām.[1] The Koni stone-inscription (K.E. 900) informs that the conquest of the Khimmiṇḍi-maṇḍala[2] was made by Purushottama, the Sarvādhikārin of Ratnadeva II. The date of the record, however, falls in the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II. It appears that the Ganjām region remained under the permanent occupation of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur till the time of Pṛithvīdeva II.

Pṛithvīdeva II's descendants namely Jājallādeva II, Jagaddeva and Ratnadeva III, were faced with external as well as internal troubles. The Amodā plates (K.E. 919) and the Seorīnārāyan stone-inscription (K.E. 919) refer to the rebellion of Dhīrū[3] and the fierce battle with Jayasiṁhadeva of Tripurī,[4] both the events occuring in the reign of Jājalladeva II. Jājalladeva II, therefore, issued his debased currency only after the Kalachuri year 919 (i.e., A.D. 1167), when the country was temporarily freed from these troubles. These troubles must have affected the economy of

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1. Smith, V.A. : Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I, Part III, p. 254, No. 4.

2. E.I., Vol. XXVII, p. 283, v. 26, l. 19.

3. Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 213, v. 19, ll. 18 - 19.

4. C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 523, Vv. 26 - 30.

the State, which is further proved from the debased currency of Jājalladeva II. It appears that after Jājalladeva II, the next rulers, namely Jagaddeva and Ratnadeva III were not in a position to issue their coins at all. Consequently, the gold-currency of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur comes to an end. The Kharod stone-inscription (K.E. 933) also informs about the unsettled conditions of the State, when the treasury became empty.[1] It was the next king and also the last, known from the coins of the dynasty, named Pratāpamalladeva, who struck his copper coins.

Like attribution, the crude and indistinct device on the reverse of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur has, till recently, been baffling all attempts of the numismatists to identify the various types correctly. Hoernle at first took the device on the gold coins to be that of Hanumān.[2] But later on he changed his opinion and suggested the figure to be that of an elephant, a horse, a bull or a lion.[3] Cunningham, as the next scholar to take notice of the coinage of this dynasty, identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins.[4] Prof. Rapson, while editing Cunningham's

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1. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 164, v. 25, l. 18.

2. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1893, pp. 92 ff.

3. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXI, Part i, pp. 239 ff.

4. Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, 1894, pp. 73 ff.

work suggested the device on the gold coins to be that of a lion, facing right, rampant.[1] Following him, Vincent Smith also took the device on the reverse of the gold coins to be that of a rampant lion.[2]

Prof. V.V. Mirashi in his painstaking study of the Kalachuri coinage has again dwelt on this topic and has identified the figure of a galloping or a caparisoned horse on most of the gold coins of this dynasty.[3] Credit goes to Shri B.N. Nath, who has been able to identify correctly the motif on the gold coins to be that of Gaja-Śāradūla or a lion attacking the elephant on his back.[4] The Scholar finds support for his identification in the expression occurring in the Amodā plates of Pṛithvīdeva I (K.E. 831) that Kokkala had 18 valiant sons, who 'destroyed their enemies in the same manner as lions break open the temples of elephants'.[5] The expression has also been repeated in the successive records of the dynasty and in it the kings of this dynasty compared themselves to lions, while their enemies have been compared to elephants. It was, therefore, natural for the Kalachuri

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1. Cunningham : Coins of Mediaeval India, 1894, pp. 75 - 76, n. 45.

2. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 254 - 255.

3. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 28, 31, 32 and 33.

4. Ibid., Vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 199 ff.

5. 'Aṣṭādaśārikarikumbhavibhaṅga-Siṁhāh', E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 78, l. 8, v. 6.

kings to have adopted the device of Gaja-Śārdūla on their gold coins.[1] Prof. V.V. Mirashi, who in the light of Shri B.N. Nath's identification, revised his former view and accepted the Gaja-Śārdūla symbol as the correct device, further suggested that Jājalladeva I defeated the contemporary Āndhra king. The kings of Āndhra were known as Gaja-patis or Gajādhīśas and it was perhaps to proclaim his victory over the lord of elephants that Jājalladeva I issued the Gaja-Śārdūla type of coinage. His successors Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II continued the war with the Gaṅga kings and, therefore, they too adopted the Gaja-Śārdūla device, which symbolised their victories over the lords of elephants.[2] The suggestion that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur adopted the Gaja-Śārdūla device on their gold coins as a mark of superiority over their enemies or some particular dynasty, hostile to them, is unacceptable for the fact that the present writer has seen at Sirpur the Gaja-Śārdūla motif among the art-specimens of the Somavaṁśī kings of Dakshiṇa Kosala. The Kalachuris, therefore, were not the first dynasty to use this symbol in Chhattisgarh and the possible allusion to the device as a mark of victory over some unfriendly power is not proved. It is just possible that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were influenced by the local art, already prevalent in the area and

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

2. Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.

they picked up a particular piece, which they adopted as a device on their gold coins.

Shri B.N. Nath has also been able to read the letters Ta and Ma or Mā on the reverse of the gold coins of this dynasty. These letters are found between the elephant and the lion.[1] Vincent Smith was the first scholar to notice the letters Ma or Mā on the reverse of the gold coins of Jājalladeva.[2] Mr. Nath suggests that these letters are the initials of the names of the mint-cities. As regards the letter Ta, it probably stands for Tummāna and Similarly the letter Ma stands for Mallāla. The serious objection to this view may be that not a single coin has yet been found at these places and their position of the mint-towns is very much doubtful. The coins in all probability were minted at the new capital of Ratnapura, which by the time of Jājalladeva I had already become the most flourishing town of Dakshiṇa Kosala.

The device on the reverse of the silver coins of Pṛithvīdeva II is indistinct and probably it represents a lion. The device on the reverse of the copper coins of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II is either Hanumān or lion or some other object. The last ruler, Pratāpamalladeva also adopted lion or some other object on his copper coins. The figure of Hanumān, as we have already seen, was copied from

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

2. Smith, V.A. : Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 254 - 255.

the Chandella coinage. Ratnadeva II and Pratāpamalladeva appear to have issued a new variety of their copper coins with some indistinct device, which in Prof. V.V. Mirashi's opinion has a sheathed dagger below.[1] Shri Parameshwari Lal Gupta thinks that these coins have the Goddess device[2] of the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, which had been very popular in North India. In his opinion, the Kalachuris of Ratanpur also followed that tradition and copied this device on their coins.

As regards the denomination and value of the coinage of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, we find that the Kalachuri kings did not follow any fixed weight standard and their gold coins generally weigh 15 and 60 grains. The copper coins vary from 23½, 43½, 73 to 100 grains. The silver coin of Prithvideva II weighs only 6 grains. Vincent Smith suggested that the large gold coins should be known by the name of dramma. The smaller sizes should have been the fractional parts of a dramma.[3] Prof. Mirashi also thinks that the gold and silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva and the gold coins of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva were struck to the weight standard of the Attic drachma (67.5 grains), though they do not reach the proper weight.[4] The Rewah

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1. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, Pl. III, Nos. 9 and 18.
2. Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 86 - 87. My revered Supervisor Dr. M.G. Dikshit also thinks the device to be that of Lakshmī.
3. Smith, V.A. : Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, Part III, p. 251.
4. J.N.S.I., Vol. III, pp. 33 ff.

stone-inscription[1] (.E.944) and the Besani stone-inscription[2] (K.E.958), both from the Chedi country refer to ṭaṅka and dramma, as the denominations of the current coinage. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (K.E.965) also refers to 130 Sarāhagaḍāma āchhu[3] which may mean 130 silver coins minted in Sarāhagaḍa (Saraharāgaḍha of the Rājim record, identified with the present Sāraṅgarh). But the silver coins of the dynasty are extremely rare. The common types among the gold coins of this dynasty appear to have been the drammas and the quarter drammas. As regards the copper coins of the dynasty, Prof. V.V. Mirashi supposes them to have been struck to the ancient Indian Standard of Kārshāpaṇa ( 146 grains) but this suggestion is not acceptable to other scholars.

Lastly, the gold content of the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur has also been discussed by Dr.S.K. Maity.[4] The average percentage of pure gold varies from 75% to 92%, which is clear from the Laboratory Report[5] of the gold coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, given below:

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.353, l.20, v.41.
2. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.369, ll.2-5.
3. E.I., Vol.IX, p.168.
4. J.N.S.I., Vol. XXII, 1960, pp.272-275.
5. Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp.274-275.

Table - I

| Sl. No. | Name of the king | Coin type | I.M.C. No. | Specific gravity of the coins | Percentage of pure gold |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jājalladeva | Gaja-Śārdūla type | 1 | 14.15 | 73.5 |
| 2. | " | " | 2 | 15.15 | 78.6 |
| 3. | " | " | 3 | 16.10 | 83.5 |
| 4. | " | " | 4 | 12.90 | 67.0 |
| 5. | Ratnadeva | " | 1 | 16.35 | 84.8 |
| 6. | Pṛithvīdeva | " | 1 | 16.95 | 88.0 |
| 7. | " | " | 5 | 18.70 | 97.0 |

Abstract of Table - I, showing pure gold content of the coins :

| No. | King | Coin-type | Average weight in air (grains) | Average percentage of pure gold | Average content of pure gold (grains) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jājalladeva | Gaja-Śārdūla type | 58.5 | 75.30 | 44.0 |
| 2. | Ratnadeva | " | 61.3 | 84.80 | 52.8 |
| 3. | Pṛithvīdeva | " | 60.0 | 92.5 | 55.5 |

# CHAPTER IX

## EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Our epigraphical materials do not throw any light on the actual condition of education prevalent in Dakshiṇa Kosala under the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The Ratanpur (Bādal Mahāl) stone-inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II (K.E.915) vaguely refers to the teachers ( adhyāpakas ) of the Talahāri-maṇḍala, who imparted instruction to a large number of resident students ( antevāsigaṇa )[1]. This shows that the education ran on the lines of traditional gurukula system. The same epigraph further informs that the teachers never marked the faulty pronunciation of crowds of pupils, who were reciting their texts. This suggests that the teacher first gave the lesson to the students and the latter afterwards learnt it by recitation. Besides reading, the emphasis was also laid on writing, as the beautiful letters ( ruchira-akshara )[2] are similarly praised in the epigraphs.

The inscriptions refer to a number of Brāhmaṇas, who were proficient in different branches of learning. As the various subjects of the higher studies are generally mentioned in connection with the academic distinctions of the learned donees, one thing becomes quite clear that a well organised system of education right from the Primary stage to the higher stage was prevalent in our time.

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.259, V.6.

2. Ratanpur (Bādal Mahāl) Inscription, E.I.,Vol.XXVI, p.263, V.44.

The epigraphs refer to a number of subjects, mastered by the donees. First of all, the subjects studied, were the four Vedas, namely Ṛik, Yajus, Sāman and Atharva, and the six Vedāṅgas (shaḍaṅga)[1], comprising Śikshā, Vyākaraṇa, Chhanda, Nirukta, Kalpa and Jyôtisha.[2] After the Vedic studies, came the six systems of philosophy(shaṭtarkka)[3], which were Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vedānta, Yoga and Vaiśeshika.[4] The Mallār stone-inscription[5] (K.E.919) informs about the principal philosophical systems taught in the early mediaeval age. It is stated therein that the learned Somarāja had mastered the doctrine of Kāśyapa[6], Sāṅkhya,[7] the two Mīmāṁsās[8], the teaching of Akshapāda [9], the great conceit of

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.421, l.16, V.11.
2. Śukranīti, 4,268.
3. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.165, ll.16-17,V.14.
4. Śukranīti, 4,269.
5. E.I.,Vol.I, pp.39ff., V.15.
6. Kāśyapa-darśana is also known as Aulukya-darśana or Vaiśeshika-darśana, Mādhavāchārya's Sarva-darśana-Saṁgraha, pp.186-199.
7. The Sāṅkhya system of Kapila, Ibid., pp.256-265.
8. The Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā of Jaimini and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa-Vyāsa, Ibid., pp.216-237 and 85-143. Mādhava,instead of Advaita-Vedānta, discusses the Rāmānujadarśana and Pūrṇaprajñadarśana, as two siddhāntas under the Vedānta system.
9. The Nyāya-system of Gautama, Ibid., pp.200-216.

Chārvāka,[1] Bauddha[2] and Jaina [3] systems. After philosophical systems, were studied the Purāṇas[4] and the Smṛitis.[5] The Rajim stone-inscription tells us that the two-epics - the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, were also read and listened to by the people,[6] and this suggests that the epics were also included among the subjects of study. The benedictory verses found at the end of the land-grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were generally taken from the Mahābhārata and that itself is indicative of the wide popularity of this work. Besides these subjects, the Āgamas were also included among the subjects of study. These were the subjects meant for the Brāhmaṇas and the scholars of the age. The writer of Śukranīti[7] gives the number of the principal sciences as thirty-two. The Bilaigaḍh plates of Pṛithvīdeva II(K.E.896) further informs about an additional subject, namely the Śākambharī-Vidyā.[8] The epigraph states that the māṇḍalika Brahmadeva learnt the Śākambharī-Vidyā from his guru, Delhūka, and by means of it obtained an easy victory over his enemies.

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1. The Chārvāka-darśana, Sarva-darśana-Saṁgraha, pp.1-12.
2. The Bauddha-darśana,Ibid.,pp.12-47.
3. The Ārhata-darśana,Ibid.,pp.47-83.
4. Śukranīti, 4,293.
5. Ibid., 4,294.
6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.455,Vv.20-21.
7. Śukranīti,4,264.
8. C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.461,V.15.

The education of the princes laid emphasis on military science. The Koni stone-inscription(K.E.900) informs that Ratnadeva II had full knowledge of the thirty-six sciences of weapons.[1] The author of Mānasollāsa suggests that the princes should be instructed in the Vedas as well as military science.[2] The Seorinarayan stone-inscription (K.E.919) and the Kharod stone-inscription (K.E.933) refer to the Kshatriya Kumārapāla, who was proficient in literature, politics, poetics and various arts.[3] We have on the other hand, the examples of the Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas, namely Purushottama and Vallabharāja, who distinguished themselves in the use of weapons.[4]

Lastly there were some miscellaneous subjects and also various arts. The Koni record refers to the poet Kāsala, who is said to have been skilled in the sciences of arms and to have been well-versed in numerous and varied arts and who was also conversant with the science of elephants and that of medicine, besides philosophy and the poetic arts.[5] The number of principal arts (Kalās) is given as sixty-four[6]; among them the poetics and mechanical arts are repeatedly mentioned in the epigraphs of this dynasty.

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.467,l.7,V.9.
2. Mānasollāsa, III, 1283-1304.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp. 515, 524 and 539.
4. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.469 and 433.
5. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.470, ll. 26-27, V.37.
6. Śukranīti, 4,264.

The inscriptions do not refer to the educational institutions but it appears that in this age, the Brāhmaṇa teacher used to give instruction to his pupils at his residence. The Bherāghāṭ record of the queen-mother Alhaṇadevī (K.E.907) refers to a Śaiva temple together with a maṭha and a hall of study (vyākhyānaśālā) founded by the queen-mother Alhaṇadevī in the country of Ḍāhala.[1] The Kalachuris of Ratanpur similarly constructed a number of temples and maṭhas which must have become the famous centres of learning. The temples and maṭhas are known to have been built at Jājallapura, Mallāla, Nārāyaṇapura, Rājim, Śeorinārāyaṇa and Kumarākoṭapattana. There were also the agrahāra villages, donated to the learned Brahmanas, who are described as engaged in the six scriptural duties consisting of learning and teaching. These Brāhmaṇas must have maintained the educational institutions from the primary to the higher stage. Students from the neighbouring places must be coming to these agrahāra villages, where they received their higher education and also learned culture. The Ratanpur (Bādal-Mahāl) stone-inscription (K.E.915) probably refers to some of these agrahāra villages, situated in the Talahāri-maṇḍala where the crowds of pupils received education from their teachers.[2]

The Kalachuri kings might have patronised the educational establishments of the capital-cities, such as Tuṁmāṇa, Ratnapura and Vikarṇṇapura. In this task, they were probably guided by their religious preceptors.[3] The records of the dynasty are, however, silent about this matter.

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.317, Vv.27-28.
2. E.I., Vol. XXVI, p.259, V.6.
3. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.414, l.27, V.28.

The general condition of education, traced so far, also gives some idea of the state of learning in our age. We find the learned philosophers [1] taking part in their doctrinal disputations and also the astronomers[2] of the age asserting their correct predictions at the royal courts. Most of the epigraphs of this dynasty were written in Sanskrit and the poets were given liberal patronage by the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur. We have not yet been able to find out a single manuscript or poetic work of the Kalachuri period from Chhattisgarh, although a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts of the modern times on different subjects have now been discovered at Ratanpur,[3] Bilaspur[4] and other places[5] in Chhattisgarh. The Pujāripāli stone-inscription of Gopāladeva informs us about the Rāmābhyudaya-Kāvya [6] of the poet Nārāyaṇa, a work of the 12th century A.D. The work has not so far been traced, but as the poet Nārāyaṇa himself composed the Pujāripāli stone-inscription, it appears that the poet composed his aforementioned Kāvya in the same style using the metres such as Anushtubh, Śārdūlavikrīdita and Āryā.[7]

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1. Somarāja of the Mallār stone-inscription (K.E.919), C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.514-515, V.15.
2. Padmanābha of the Sarkho plates, E.I., Vol. XXII, p.166, Vv.18-19.
3. Rai Bahadur Hiralal: Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur, 1926, Nos. 18-20, 23, 51, 150 & 156.
4. Ibid., Nos. 137-139, 143-145.
5. Ibid., Nos. 21, 22, 40, 50, 176, 184, 193 & 198.
6. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.592, l.23, V.43.
7. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp. 590-592.

Kshemendra points out that some poets show a fondness for one particular metre even though they employ many different metres.[1] This metrical practice is also noticed among the poets of Dakshiṇa kosala in our period. Ṭhakkura Jasānanda, who composed the Rājim Praśasti(K.E.896) wrote 22 verses, out of 26 verses in the Anushtubh metre, while for the remaining verses, he employed Upajāti and Upendravajrā metres.[2] The poets of various Kalachuri records show their fondness for Anushtubh[3] Śārdūlavikrīdita[4] Vasantatilakā,[5] Upajāti[6] Sragdharā,[7] Mālinī[8] Śālinī,[9] Vaṁśastha,[10] Śikhariṇī,[11] Mandākrāntā[12] Upendravajrā,[13] Āryā,[14] Hariṇī[15] and Bhujaṅgaprayāta[16]

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1. Mehendale & Pusalkar, Chapter on Language and Literature, published in the Struggle For Empire, p.326.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.453-455.
3. Kedarabhatta: Vṛittaratnākara, pp.34-35.
4. Ibid., p.65.
5. Ibid., p.57.
6. Ibid., p.40-41.
7. Ibid., p.67.
8. Ibid., p.59.
9. Ibid., p.46.
10. Ibid., p.49.
11. Ibid., p.61.
12. Ibid., p.63.
13. Ibid., p.40.
14. Ibid., pp.8-13.
15. Ibid., p.62.
16. Ibid., p.53.

metres, the first three being the commonly used metres among them.

The poets of the Kalachuri prasastis claim to have attained proficiency in the Sāstras and various arts. Devapāṇi[1], the author of the Akaltarā stone-inscription and Kāsala[2], the poet of the Koni record (K.E.900) can easily rank among the talented poets of the age. Kasala's tribute to poets[3] that without them the glorious deeds of the warriors and the charitable works of the benevolent persons would have been lost in course of time, reminds us of the similar expression of Kalhana in his Rājataraṅgiṇī.[4] Besides Sanskrit, the Kalachuris of Ratanpur also patronised Prākrit poets. Some of the later records of the dynasty were written in that language.[5]

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1. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.433, l.18,V.26.
2. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.470, l.27,V.37.
3. कुर्वन्तु कीर्त्तिशतानि रणाङ्गणेषु मथ्नन्तु वैरिनिकरं घनमुत्सृजन्तु ।
   कालान्तरे सदखिलं प्रबलान्धकारनृत्योपमं कविजनैरनिबद्धयमानम् ॥

   - C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.467, l.4, V.5.
4. भुजवनतरुच्छायां यैषां निषेव्य महौजसांजलधिरशना मेदिन्यासीदसाक्षतोमया ।
   स्मृतिमपि न ते यान्ति क्ष्मापा विना यदनुग्रहं प्रकृतिमहते कुर्मस्तस्मै नमः कविकर्मणे ॥

   - Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 46.
5. Hiralal : Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.228,p.135.

# CHAPTER X

## ARCHITECTURE.

The main feature of the architecture of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, whether religous or secular, is the profuse use of large cutstone blocks placed one upon another without the use of any binding material. In this respect, it inherits a tradition of mediaeval stone architecture, very widely prevalent throughout India during 9th to 12th centuries A.D.

The architecture can roughly be divided into two groups, (i) religious and (ii) secular. Unfortunately no structures of the latter class have been preserved in their original form or in their entirety. Much renovation and additions at subsequent dates have resulted in the disfigurement of their original plans, which have become unintelligible to us at the present date. In several instances, the temples have been reduced to mere heaps of stones indifferently scattered about the ruins. Their location and other details have to be determined with the help of the epigraphical references. The study of the Kalachuri architecture dealt below is, thus, based on my frequent visits to the known temples and on a comparative study of the specimens obtained in the region. The stylistic data procured from the sculpture has also been helpful to some extent.

The inscriptional data is quite rich in giving details about the village-sites in which the buildings were located. According to these inscriptions, the temples are referred to have been built at Tuṁmāṇa, [1] Ratnapura,[2] Jājallapura,[3]

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1. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.80; Ibid, Vol.I, p.35.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p.35; Ibid., Vol.XXVI, p.262; Ibid.Vol.XXI,p.365.
3. Ibid., Vol. I, p.36.

Vikarṇṇapura,[1] Rājim,[2] Kôṇī,[3] Sāmbā,[4] Mallāla[5] Varêlāpura,[6] Nārāyaṇapura,[7] Têjallapura,[8] Kumarākoṭapattana,[9] Sôṇṭhiva,[10] Patharīā,[11] Śêôrīnārāyan,[12] Kharod,[13] Vana Vaḍadā,[14] Pahatakapura[15](?), Pôratha[16] and several other places, the names of which are not clear in the inscriptions. The monasteries are said to have been established at Jājallapura[17] and Kharod.[18] The reference is further made to the construction of a '<u>Vāhvālī</u>' at Vikarṇṇapura[19] and a '<u>Sarvasatrī</u>' or public alms-house, abounding in sweets and drink, at Nārāyaṇapura[20] and at another place [21], the name of which could not be made out.

Besides, many tanks are reported to have been excavated

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1. Hiralal, <u>Ins. in C.P. & Berar, No.202</u>, p.121.
2. <u>I.A.</u>, Vol, Vol. XVII, pp.139 ff.
3. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol. XXVII, p.283.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>, Vol. I, p.42.
5. <u>Ibid</u>, Vol XXVI, p.261; <u>Ibid</u>, Vol. I, p.42
6.-9. <u>Ibid</u>, Vol XXVI, p.262.
10.-12. Hiralal, <u>Ins. in C.P. & Berar</u>, No.203, p.122.
13.-16. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol. XXI, p.165.
17. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol. I, p.36.
18. <u>Ibid</u>, Vol. XXI, p.165.
19. Hiralal, <u>Ins. in C.P. & Berar</u>, No. 202, p.121.
20. <u>E.I.</u>, Vol. XXI, p.165.
21. <u>Ibid</u>, Vol. XXVI, p.263.

at Ratnapura,[1] Jājallapura,[2] Vikarṇṇapura,[3] Mallāla,[4] Gothālī,[5] Bambhaṇī,[6] Charauya,[7] Sônṭhiva,[8] Pathariā,[9] Pajanī,[10] Tipuraga(?)[11] Girahalī,[12] Ulubā,[13] and Sênādarā.[14] Further Brahmadeva, a feudatory prince is stated to have made a 'Vāpī' with wonderful steps at Ratnapura,[15] which still exists at Ratanpur in its reconstructed form.

Lastly, the epigraphic records also mention about the maintenance of mango-groves and flower gardens at Jājallapura,[16] Koni,[17] Sônṭhiva,[18] Pathariā[19] Pajanī[20] Nārāyaṇapura[21] and probably at Kumarākoṭa by the side of the god Sômanātha.[22] Flower-gardens

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.35; Ibid, Vol.XXVII, p.283; Ibid, Vol.XXVI, p.262.
2. Ibid, Vol.I., p.36.
3. Hiralal, Ins. in C.P. & Berar, No.202, p.121.
4-7. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.262.
8-9. Hiralal, Ins. in C.P. & Berar, No.203, p.122.
10. Ibid.
11. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.
12. Ibid, Vol.XXI, p.165.
13. Ibid, Vol.XXI, p.165.
14. Ibid, Vol.XXI, p.165.
15. Ibid, Vol.XXVI, p.262.
16. Ibid, Vol.I, p.36.
17. Ibid, Vol.XXVIII, p.283.
18. Hiralal, Ins. in C.P. & Berar, No.203, p.122.
19. Hiralal, Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.
22. Ibid, Vol.XXVI, p.262.

and tanks were invariably built by the side of a temple, which actually followed the canons of Hindu architecture.[1]

It is very difficult to give definite locations to the places, which have been referred to in the Kalachuri records. An extensive survey of the whole area of Chhattisgarh undertaken by the present researcher has shown that many of the old Kalachuri sites have either disappeared from the scene or if indentified, their monuments have been dismentled by the cruel hands of modern masons. The monuments which have withstood the ravages of time are described with their architectural peculiarities in the following pages.[2]

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## T U M Ā N.

Tumān, which has been identified with Tummana, the old capital of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur is about 60 miles North-east of Bilaspur and 45 miles in the same direction from Ratanpur.[3] Tumān is noted for its ideal situation in a valley surrounded by a ring of mountains. There are two entrances to the Tumānkhôl, one from Uprôrā in the east and the other from Mātin in the west. If these two points are properly guarded and garrisoned, the whole area becomes a natural fort. It is one of the finest examples of 'Pārvata-durga',[4] among the seven

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1. Brihat Samhitā, Chap. LVI, 1, edited by V.Subrahmanya Shastri, Vol.I, p.491.

2. See the Map of the Kalachuri Monuments of Chhattisgarh.

3. Bilaspur District Gazetter, p.293.

4. Arthaśāstra, Book II, Chap. III, 2.

kinds of natural fortifications enunciated by Kautilya. A Pārvata-durga is rendered difficult of access for its situation within the mountains and in this respect, Tuṁmāṇa occupies a unique position among all the Kalachuri sites of Chhattisgarh.

Tuṁmāṇa, as the inscriptional evidences [1] say, owed its importance wholly to the Kalachuris, who did not continue their capital at this place for long and with the expansion of the empire, its glory was snatched away by Ratnapura, a more prosperous city built by Ratnarāja. In spite of the fact that the capital was removed from Tuṁmāṇa, it continued to be a place of importance for some generations to come.

The epigraphic records show that the temples of Vaṅkêśvara[2], Ratnêśvara[3] and Pṛithvīdêvêśvara[4] and others presumably all Śaiva were built at Tuṁmāṇa and the place was further beautified with the addition of palatial dwellings, gardens and high mango-groves. It is also mentioned that Pṛithvīdeva I once dedicated a four-pillared Hall[5](Chatushkikā) to the god Vaṅkêśvara at Tuṁmāṇa.

The remains of the old temples are not in existence at Tumāṇa except a gateway. Among the architecture of the

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1. E.I. Vol. I, pp.32 ff; I.A., Vol.XX, p.85; E.I., Vol.XXVII pp.275-287; E.I., Vol. I, p.50; E.I., Vol.I, pp.39 ff.and E.I., Vol. XXI, pp. 159-165.
2. E.I., Vol. XIX, p.80; Ibid., Vol.I, p.35.
3. Ibid, Vol. I, p.35.
4. Ibid, Vol. I, p.35.
5. For Chatushka see, Kālidāsa-Kumāra Sambhava, V.68 and VII,9.

relics, the vestiges of a ruined doorway at Tuman, occupy a prominent place. Though on stylistic grounds, the doorway belongs to the period under study, it is with some diffidence that an exact date can be given to its construction. Dr.Hiralal[1] was the first to note the archaeological remains at Tumān. He has given an elaborate description of this door-frame and has conjectured that it may have belonged to the Vaṅkêśvara temple of the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

The ruins of this doorframe are lying on the eastern outskirts of the present village Tumān. The door-frame[2], which is five feet two inches high, and two feet seven inches wide faces West. It is a massive structure adorned with scroll work on its sides.[3] It is supported over by collapsed roof and the surrounding walls of the 'Garbha-griha', whose South-east corner partially remains. At the top of the lintel[4], three projecting windows with Śikharas form the dedicatory blocks, the central and the main one having a dancing figure of Śiva in the Tāṇḍava posture. The side windows for niches contain the sculptures of Brahmā in Lalitāsana with his Vāhana Haṁsa on the left[5], as we enter, and the Vāmana form of Vishṇu, on the right[6], riding on his vāhana, the Garuḍa.

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1. I.A., Vol LIII,(1924), pp.267-70; M.H.S.Papers, Vol. I, (1932), pp.34-38 and Bilaspur District Gazetteer, pp.298-99.

2. See the Plan of the Tumān Doorway.

3. Photograph No.1.
4. Photograph No.2.
5. Photograph No.3.
6. Photograph No.4.

The top of the lintel is adorned with a number of gaṇa figures, carrying garlands and with a Kīrttimukha in the centre. The common paṭṭikā joining the niches is decorated with 'Navagrahas' or the nine planets, five between Brahmā and Śiva and the remaining four between Śiva and Vishṇu.[1]

Two jambs of the door-frame are decorated with the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. The left hand jamb starts with Matsya on the top and the figures of the tortoise, the boar, Narasimha and Vāmana one below each other and those of Paraśu-rāma, Rāma, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki on the right-hand side. It may be observed here that the sculptures of the incarnations do not follow the usual method of depicting them viz., starting from the bottom of the left hand side('dakshiṇādhaṅkarakrama'), but are represented in a series running parallel to each other.

The bases of the door-jambs are adorned on either side with the river goddesses with pitchers of water in their hands in their usual position namely that of Gaṅgā[2] on a gor-goyle to the left and Yamunā[3] on her tortoise to the right.

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1. Navagrahas are noticed in the door-frame of the Vaṅkêśvara temple at Tuṁmāṇa and all other Kalachuri temple in Chhattis-garh. These invariably occur on the paṭṭikā adorning the door-way of the porch and are arranged in a panel depicting the individual deities in a series alongside one another. Their identification marks are generally not clear, because in many cases they have been plastered over or not adequately noted. Their position on the paṭṭikā of the lintel is an additional argument in favour of the temple, which they derived from the Northern tradition. See, Sivaramamurti, Ancient India, No.6,p.35.
2. Photograph. No.6.
3. Photograph. No.5.

These images are flanked by four-armed dvārapālas[1] on either side of the river-goddesses, though the attributes or the hands holding them are missing, it is more or less certain that they represent the Bhairavas because one of them (to the left near Yamunā) shows the 'ḍamarū' well-preserved in one of his hands. Dr.Hiralal had seen a large figure of the headless Nandi in situ before this temple[2]. This, however, is now missing.

The images of Bhairavas at the bases, the presence of a Nandi and the central dancing figure of Śiva, definitely indicate that the temple was undoubtedly a Śaiva one and verily represents that of god Vaṅkêśvara (Vaṅkêśvara Śiva holding the crescented moon on his head)[3].

On stylistic grounds, the sculptures belong to the latter half of the 10th century A.D. and show a vigorous style particularly in the delineation of the figure of the river goddesses and the three deities, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva in the Tāṇḍava.

Besides the ruined temple of Vaṅkêśvara, there are the traces of other monuments as well. In inscriptions, the temples of Ratnêśvara[4] and Pṛithvīdêvêśvara[5] are also referred to have been situated at Tummāṇa. The two main piles of stones

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1. Photographs Nos. 7 and 8.
2. I.A., Vol.LIII, 1924, pp.267-70.
3. According to the Anêkārthasāra of Dharaṇīdāsa, the word vaṅka in Sanskrit and Prākrit has the same meaning as Vakra, which is a name of Rudra, cited by Chakravarti, E.I., Vol.XXI, p.163.
4. E.I., Vol.I, p.35.
5. Ibid., Vol.I, p.35.

to the east and the north-east of the holy Vaṅkêśa seem to be the possible sites of these temples.

To the west of the village, is the river Jaṭāśaṅkarī. Dr. Hiralal found some traces of old buildings on the right bank of this river.[1] The villagers used to call the buildings 'Satkhaṇḍā Mahal' or seven-storeyed pâlace and this belief led to the historian to identify these ruins with the possible residence of the Tuṁmāṇa Kings. Śrī Kumāra, the author of Śilparatna, prescribes that the villages should be situated on the right bank of the rivers[2] and the probable location of the royal buildings along with the village dwellings on this spot, therefore, appears to be quite correct.

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## PĀLĪ. TEMPLE

Amongst the architectural jewels of the Kalachuri dynasty of Southern Kosalas, the temple at Pālī, about 12 miles north-east of Ratanpur occupies a place of honour. This Śiva temple was considerably renovated during the Bhônslās and subsequent periods. It has also been profus-ely plastered as to hide the several architectural and iconographical features, so essential for a detailed study of the monument. In spite of these difficulties, the following architectural features [3] may be noted:-

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1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.299.

2. 'नदीनां दक्षिणादौ तीरे ग्रामान् निवेशयेत् ।'
Śrīkumāra: Śilparatna, Vol.I, p.17.

3. The principal authorities are:
Cunningham - A.S.I.R., Vol.VII(1873-74), pp.217-19.
Cousens - PRAS., WC., 1903-04, pp.28-29.
Bhandarkar - Ibid., p.52.
Mirashi, V.V.- 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākosala', P.I.H.C., Vol. III, pp. 319-27.

The temple, according to the text of an inscription found on the top of the lintel of the entrance to the garbha-gṛiha, was built by one Vikramāditya, son of Malladeva, who probably belonged to the Bāṇa family on the eastern coast and this ruler is conjecturally assigned to the latter half of the 9th century A.D.[1] It was extensively repaired by Jājalladeva I, whose five inscriptions are found in the Sabhā-maṇḍapa.[2] The temple, therefore, was built between 10th and 12th centuries. A.D.

The The temple stands to the south of the village on the western bank of a tank and is erected on a stone platform (72' X 53'6"), which according to Beglar was built of a cellular structure[3], but has been considerably built over during modern times.

The temple, which faces the east,[4] consists of a Sabhā-

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1. The inscription of Vikramāditya was first read by D.R.Bhandarkar, op.cit., Subsequent research by Mirashi has shown the king to be of the Bāṇa dynasty.
2. The inscriptions, the text of which as 'Śrīmaj-Jājalladêvasya Kīrttir-iyam' are recorded on a pilaster(inserted to support broken beam) on south side of shrine-doorway, on a stone built into the re-built doorway on the north of the maṇḍapa and on three different places in the walls of the Sabhāmaṇḍapa and presumably refer not to the temple itself as would be implied by the text of the inscription, but to the restoration effe-cted by him generally. The later pilgrim records from this temple have not been taken into account.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.219.
4. Photograph No.9; and also Plan of the temple.

maṇḍapa and a garbha-gṛiha both of which have undergone extensive repairs.

The maṇḍapa is a chatushkika structure with a richly 'decorated domical ceiling[1] ornamented by concentric circles of cusped hollows.' The interior of the walls is decorated with figures of warriors, where the ceiling touches the vertical walls. It appears probable[2] that the maṇḍapa with its ceiling was an open structure as originally built during the days of the Bana chiefs. At a subsequent date, however, when extensive repairs were necessary, the rectangular-architrave was supported over by additional cross beams so as to form an octagonal shape. In supporting these beams additional walls, profusely decorated with several sculptures from the ground level upto the ceiling were erected in between original entrance doors and those of the garbha-gṛiha. It was also necessary to pierce windows in these later walls and further to have seats with tilted backs. To strengthen the ceiling two additional pillars in front of the garbha-gṛiha have been provided.[2] These two pillars are so conspicuously placed as to indicate the alterations, which atonce bring out the incongruity in the plan as also to hide the details of some of the elaborately sculptured doorway of the garbha-gṛiha. The bases of these pillars are decorated with attendant deities, whereas, the profusely restored walls contain in them the representations of elephants, Gaja-śārdūlas, Haṁsas, devotees, liṅga-worship, figure of Brahmā[3] seated on Haṁsa, and other worshippers.[4]

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1. For a photograph of this ceiling, see, P.I.H.C., Vol.III, pl. facing p. 323.
2. Photograph No.10.
3. Photograph No.11.
4. Photographs No. 12 and 13.

The sanctum or the garbha-gṛiha is a small recessed structure having plain undecorated walls inside. The doorway [1] is decorated in the manner of the Tummāṇa gateway, already described above, and has in its projecting windows Brahmā, Maheśa and Vishṇu. The paṭṭikā is decorated with the usual nine planets, four between Brahmā and Śiva and five from Śiva to Vishṇu. The inscription regarding the original construction of the temple by the Bāṇa king, Vikramāditya is placed below the navagrahas, but is now obliterated in the thick coating of the plaster. The dedicatory block is again super imposed by a Kīrttimukha.

The jambs of the doorway are decorated with the traditional figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā towards the left and the right respectively. The threshold is provided with a moon-stone. The exterior walls of the sanctum forming the main Śikhara show extensive repairs. Nearly upto a height of 10 feet, the original construction remains intact, and the finial and the kalaśa are evidently later restorations. The Śikhara has a star-shaped plan with reentrant angles, the principal faces being decorated with two storeyed niches and profusely decorated with figures of the Śaiva pantheons. Similar decorations occur on the reentrant angles. The southern face[2] has a figure of Skanda in the lower storey, whereas the top one is depicted with Śiva killing the demon Andhaka. On the western or the back face,[3] the decoration consists of two figures, an indistinct standing figure of Sūrya and Śiva in tāṇḍava posture at the top. Northern face[4] similarly has the figures of Chāmuṇḍā[5] and dancing Śiva in the corresponding

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1. Photograph No. 10.
2. Photographs No. 14, 15 & 16.
3. Photographs No. 17, 18 & 19.
4. Photograph No. 20.
5. Photograph No. 21.

niches. Sarasvatī in ardhapadmāsana is depicted on the extreme north, with the vāhana Haṁsa below her left thigh.[1]

The base of the Śikhara has several string-courses and the reentrant angles and it depicts several dallying and amorous couples carved over them into rows. Over and above the double storeyed rows of panels runs a row of Haṁsas where the angular dome meets the vertical walls. The most important and unusual feature of the Śikhara of this temple is, however, the sculptured panel of gaṇas in the form of Kīchakas.[2] The gaṇas are depicted in the act of supporting a diamond-shaped quatre foil emblem resembling a Śrīvatsa. So far as could be ascertained, this feature is altogether absent in other temples known so far. This architectural member occupies exactly the same position, as that of the Chaitya arch or even the Kīrttimukha displayed prominently on certain Mediaeval and Chālukyan temples in the South. The gaṇa in this case actually is seeing, supporting or carrying the vimāna of the Śikhara and this is a distinct addition to the Kalachuri architecture. As not many temples of this period have survived, it is difficult to ascertain, as to whether this was a regular or repetitive feature amongst the monuments of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.

The sloping walls of the vimānas are profusely decorated with scroll-work to accentuate the effect of light and shade and thus to relieve the monotony of the sculptured panels on the walls. Mention may also be made of the string course of the Haṁsas, which according to the ancient texts,

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1. Photograph No. 22.

2. Photograph No.23. For details of this gana, see Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Vol.II, p.387-88, Pl. XXXIX.

should be carved on the walls of the temple.[1]

Stylistically speaking, the Śaiva temple at Pali is indeed a remarkable piece of workmanship of the beginning of the Kalachuri regime. Notwithstanding the inscriptional evidence about this being built by the Bāṇa king, the temple may be called a characteristic example of the early Kalachuri period also. It may be noted that though purporting to have been built by a dynasty from the east coast, its characteristics are essentially northern and it is built according to the Central Indian tradition. The sculptures on the walls, particularly the presence of the amorous figures, are also a pointer in that direction. It is to be regretted that this typical example of a temple should not have been preserved to us in its entirety.

## RATANPUR

Ratanpur, or the old Ratnapura, which was founded by Ratnarāja, the third descendant of the Kalachuris of Dakshiṇa Kosala, is 16 miles to the north of Bilaspur. It is nothing but the irony of fate, that the place which happened to be the old capital of the Kalachuri kings, presently has no Kalachuri remains in it. The epigraphic records refer to the construction of the nine cloud-kissing excellent temples of Pārvatī,[2] a temple of Ēkavīrā[3] resembling a Pushpaka built on the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, the temple of the goddess Durga[4] in the

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1. Bhôja's 'Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra', LVII, 360, cited by Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, p.388.
2. E.I., Vol. XXVI, p.262.
3. Ibid. Vol. XXI, p.165.
4. Ibid. Vol XXI, p.165.

fortress and a temple of Tuṇṭā-Gaṇapati[1] to the north of Ratnapura, besides many tanks[2] and a step-well[3] there.

The old temples of Ratnapura have been utilised in the construction of the modern Marāṭhā fort and the palace known as Bādal Mahal. The doorways, pillars and sculptures are visible on the fort walls, among which a very elaborately carved doorway[4] of some old temple, is of a particular interest. The door frame is built into the fortwall near the northern gateway. It is made of red sand-stone. The door jambs have the standing Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures as elsewhere. Above them the dancing figures of the gandharvas are depicted. The doorway lintel is decorated with Brahmā, Śiva in tāṇḍava dance and Vishṇu. Śiva occupies the central niche. The navagrahas, all sitting and forming a row, fill up the gap between the three gods. The architrave above the doorway lintel has the Saptamatrikas or the Seven Mothers. The god Kārttikêya is also depicted among the principal deities. The inner edges of the doorframe are exuberant in scroll-work. To the left of the doorframe, a panel of Rāvaṇā-mugraha[5] scene is a rare and fine piece of Kalachuri art. Here Rāvaṇa is cutting off his heads one after the other and offering them to Śiva, indicated here in the form of a liṅgam.

The sculptures, which are built into the fortwall[6] and the bridge parapet,[7] very near to the village, have Śiva,

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1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.165.
2. E.I., Vol.I, p.35; Ibid.,Vol.XXVII, p.283; Ibid.,Vol.XXVI,p.262.
3. Ibid., Vol.XXVI, p.262.
4. Photograph No.24.
5. Photograph No.25.
6. Photograph No.26.
7. Photographs No. 27,28,29,30 & 31.

Vishṇu, Sūrya, seated Jinas, apsarās, mithunas and the griffins taking the deity on their heads. These panels are the unmistakable feature of a Kalachuri temple and appear to be the parts of some ancient monuments in the vicinity. The site-robbers of an inartistic temperament have, now, made their old location impossible. From their style and execution of work, these speciments belong to the early kings of Ratnapura.

Apart from these architectural fragments, Ratanpur has no other Kalachuri remains in the area. A number of modern temples are still clustering round the village and a few of them must be occupying the old sites. Among these modern temples, the oldest is that of Mahāmāyā situated to the west of the village. The Kharod inscription refers to a temple of Ēkavīrā[1] resembling a Pushpaka[2] built on the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura. Evidently this cannot be the site of the temple of Ēkavīrā, as it is not situated on a hill. Dr.Chakravarti[3] has wrongly identified it with the old temple mentioned therein. Similarly the temple was not originally a Jaina specimen belonging to the Digambara sect, as Cousens[4] thought. The lintel, mouldings and the central pillars of the maṇḍapa, which have seated Jinas

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1. E.I., Vol. XXI, p.165.
2. Pushpaka is one of the five vimānas of the gods. It is 'āyatāśra' or rectangular in shape. For other details, the texts are: Agni Purāṇa, C IV, 11-12; Garuḍa Purāṇa, 1,XLVII, 21f. Prayôga-Mañjarī, VI, 4-13; P.K.Acharya,Indian Architecture, pp.113-14.
3. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.160, f.n.2.
4. P.R.A.S., WC, 1903-04, p.27.

on them, appear to have been brought from some old Jaina temple in the vicinity. The temple enshrines an image of Mahishāsuramardinī, which is not very old. The shrine doorway has an inscription[1] on its either side. It is dated in the Saṁvat 1552 = A.D. 1496.

To the north of the Mahāmāyā temple or on the other edge of a square masonry tank, is the Kaṇṭhêśvara temple, which is not very old. It is now a protected monument. Causens saw an image of Kalyāṇasundara Śiva set into the wall, which is at present housed in the Raipur Museum. The sculpture depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Brahmā as the priest officiates with the sacred fire. Śiva and Pārvatī stand before the fire. Above them, other gods are also present. Pārvatī is attended by her maids.[2] It is the earliest sculpture found at Ratanpur and on stylistic grounds can be dated in the 10th century A.D.

The temple of Rāmachandra, which is built on the Rāmaṭêkrī hill to the north of the village is a white-washed temple of recent origin. It stands on an ancient site. The temple has been constructed out of the old materials. Two inscriptions, in modern characters, are found on the door-step and a pillar respectively. The temple has a statue of Bimbājī Bhônslā along with other statues of Rāmachandra.

Below the Rāmaṭêkrī hill and near the village, is a modern temple of Vṛiddhêśvaranātha Mahādêva. A step-well[3] to the south of the temple is found in much renovated form. The well provides steps only from the north. In the Ratanpur Inscription

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1. PRAS., WC, 1903-04, p.27.
2. Photograph No. 90.
3. Photograph No. 32 & 33.

(1915 K.E.) a vāpī,[1] is said to have been constructed by Brahmadeva, a māṇḍalika of the Kalachuri kings, for the ladies of the town. Since this is the only step-well in the vicinity of Ratanpur, it is possible that this step-well was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription.

Besides the temples and other architectural remains, Ratanpur is fairly rich in tanks. In fact present Ratanpur looks like a town of tanks. The tradition is current that once there existed 1400 tanks[2] at Ratanpur. The village now contains about 250 tanks, some of them are undoubtedly ancient. Epigraphic records ascribe some of the old tanks to Jājalladeva I[3], Purushôttama[4] and Brahmadeva[5]. It is, however, difficult to identify them with any of the builders mentioned above.

## JĀNJGIR

Jānjgir, the headquarters of the tahsil originally known as Śrīnārāyan Tahsil, now called Jānjgir Tahsil in the Bilaspur district, is situated 26 miles to the east of Bilaspur. It is two miles away from Nailā station. Jānjgir has two Kalachuri temples, both richly carved.

The first temple[6], which is an unfinished work, is situated on the west side of the Bhīmā tank. This tank is said to have been constructed by a Kalachuri king of Ratnapura.[7] The

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1. E.I., Vol. XXVI, p.262.
2. Gupta, Śrī Vishnu-Mahāyajña(Ratnapura) Smāraka Grantha,p.112.
3. E.I., Vol.I, p.35.
4. Ibid., Vol XXVII, p.283.
5. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p.262.
6. Photographs No. 34 & 35.
7. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.272.

temple stands on a high platform which has been reconstructed in recent times. The stone platform is of uneven dimensions, about 98' in length X 67' in breadth with a cut off corner at the south-east end. On the northern face it has recessed steps.

The cella(garbha-gṛiha) of the temple has an unfinished Śikhara on it facing east.[1] At present, the temple has no maṇḍapa in front of it. Beglar, who visited this place in 1873-74, noticed the sculptured cell of the temple without any maṇḍapa.[2] The open space on the eastern side, nevertheless, makes us believe that some structure stood in front of the garbhagṛiha. The temple seems to have been complete in its traditional form having an antarāla, a mahāmaṇḍapa, a maṇḍapa and ardha maṇḍapa.

The doorway[3] of the garbhagṛiha has the usual goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The river deities have on their heads ornamental umbrellas being held by miniature figures. On the exterior sides of the goddesses,[4] two male gods, stand on outer jambs. One of them particularly the outer one, on each side, appears to have been a figure of Vishṇu. The pedestals of these male-gods as well as of the river goddesses are decorated with entwining nagas. Just above the river goddesses, the jambs are decorated with two successive panels of standing deities, probably some forms of Vishṇu. The paṭṭikā is similarly ornamented with Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, all in 'līlāsana'pose, with Vishṇu in the centre. The space between the three niches is likewise filled by the navagrahas, all sitting. The two successive door-beams above the lintel have one niche in the centre of each. These contain a sculpture of Vishṇu, in the lower one, and the upper one has a bust of mālādhārī-gaṇa. The architraves and the upper-half of the jambs bearing the male gods are again adorned by a continuous naga-motif. The side-pillars forming

1. Plan of the Vishṇu Temple. 2. A.S.I.R., Vol VII, p.210.
3. Photographs No. 36 & 37. 4. Photographs No. 38 & 39.

the outer edges of the doorway are profusely sculptured. They have projecting mouldings in the middle, surmounted by similar ones below the capital. Pillars and the threshold of the doorway, like the door jambs, lintel and the beams are lavishly ornamented. In fact the whole doorway is a fine piece of art. The ornamentation follows a systematic plan and sculptures run into successives rows. The base of the plinth starts with a row of elephants(gaja-thara). The next row contains geese on the left(Haṁsa-thara) and the lions on the right (Śārdūlas). It is again surmounted by the elephants. The sitting devotees occupy six rows of the left facade and four on the right side. The remaining two rows to the right contain the figures of gandharvas playing on drums(dholaka). The successive six rows are terminated by the projecting mouldings, which are again adorned by vidyādhara figures holding garlands. Four rows on the left side contain the sitting devotees and the topmost row above them is that of the vidyādharas. On the right side of the facade, we have a projecting bracket, which is surmounted by a beautiful standing male figure holding kalaśa along with two attendants, one standing and the other kneeling before him in the centre. The continuous rows between the projecting mouldings are decorated with the figure of playing gandharvas in various moods. The ornamented rows are superimposed by two projecting mouldings on each side. They are further decorated with two Kīrttimukhas. The topmost row, where the Śikhara abruptly ends, has the figures of gandharvas[1] standing in graceful postures and playing on drums.

The garbhagṛiha has plain walls inside. It is square

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1. Photograph No. 40.

in plan, but the walls are recessed at the four corners apparently for the pillars, supporting the roof. The pillars are likewise plain. They are superimposed by the overlapping stones forming the dome of the sanctum, in concentric circles.

The exterior of the sanctum bears prefuse ornamentation. It is square in plan having reentrant angles at the corners. The base starts with projecting mouldings, which comprise of two tiers of sculptures running parallel on all the three sides. The buttresses, thus formed divide the whole wall into seven faces. Several sculptures and the principal faces amongst them invariably depict the incarnations of Vishnu. The Śikhara is only half finished and it is decorated right upto the top. Three Kirttimukhas occupy a central niche on all the three faces. Absence of the finial gives nothing but a rude shock to any one who visits this fine specimen of the Kalachuri art and architecture.

The panels running on the exterior walls are elaborate and shaped with measured skill. The southern wall depicts Narasimha[1] and Varāha[2] in the upper niches, below them are the standing figures of Vishṇu with all the four āyudhas beautifully engraved. The recesses between them contain the figures of apsarās and devotees. The southern side contains the images of Brahmā and Vishṇu in the principal niches. The western face[3] has Vishṇu in the upper niche and the lower panel contains the image of Sūrya, which is a rare sculpture in this temple. The side

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1. Photograph No. 41.
2. -do- No. 42.
3. -do- No. 43.

panels[1] have the dancing apsarās, Śārdūlas and Dêvarshis. The dancing apsrā[2], in one place holds her nūpura in order to fasten it on her ankle. Her male companion beats the drum keeping in tune with her. On the both sides of the apsarā are the rishis holding rosaries and counting their beads. Similarly an image of Nāgarāja[3] is also noticeable on the western wall. The image stands on its coiled tail holding unsheathed sword and shield close to its body. Ṛishis and apsarās are seen at the sides of the Nāgarāja. The pedestals of all these images are supported by the gaṇas, which is a remarkable feature of this temple.

The temple has no deity inside the garbhagṛiha. From the central niche on the lintel and the incarnation scenes on the exterior walls, it is certain that the temple was intended for Vishṇu-worship. As the temple remained unfinished the enshrining of the deity inside garbhagṛiha probably remained unaccomplished. The Gazetteer[4], however, gives a traditional account which is based on hearsay and is, therefore, not acceptable.

Attention may be drawn to the presence of some scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa appearing on the eastern and the northern walls. These were recently added to the newly renovated platform. They represent a unique feature in the iconography of the Kalachuri temples. The platform is recently repaired and these sculptures were brought from the smaller temple of Śiva, standing nearby.

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1. Photograph No.44.
2. Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, pl. XL.
3. -do- -do- -do- Pl.XLI.
4. Bilaspur District Gazetter, p.272.

Beglar saw them on the walls of the mahāmaṇḍapa.[1] The figures are rather crudely executed and they give the story of Rāmāyaṇa beginning from the time of Sītāhāraṇa right upto Rāma-Rāvaṇa-Yuddha. The scenes, illustrated at Janjgir are:-

1. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā, Rāvaṇa and deer;[2]
2. Rāma chasing the svarṇamṛiga, Rāvaṇa hiding, Lakshmaṇa preparing to follow Rāma;[3]
3. Sītāharaṇa or Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā;[4]
4. Rāma piercing seven palm trees with an arrow and thus giving the trial of his strength;[5]
5. Vāli-Sugrīva-Yuddha, Rāma shooting an arrow at Vāli from behind trees;[6]
6. Monkeys building Sêtu to Laṅkā;[7]
7. Rāma performing Pūjā at Rāmêśvaram;[8]
8. Rāma-Rāvaṇa-Yuddha;[9]
9. Monkeys fighting demons.[10]

The Ramayana scenes are not found on any other temple of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The panels at Jānjgir are an exception, as this depiction is not a regular feature of the

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol VII, p.205.
2. Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇyakāṇḍa, Chapters 42-43.
3. Ibid -do- -do- 44-45; Photograph No.45.
4. Ibid., -do- -do- 49; Photograph No.46.
5. Ibid., Kishkindhākāṇḍa, Chapter 12; Photograph No. 47.
6. Ibid., -do- Chapter 16; Photograph No. 48.
7. Ibid., Yudhyakāṇḍa, Chapter 13; Photograph No. 49.
8. Ibid., Yudhyakāṇḍa, Chapters 10-11; Photograph No.50
9. Ibid., -do- -do- LXVIII-LXIX.
10. Ibid., -do- -do- XXVIII-XXIX; Photograph No.51.

Kalachuri architecture in Dakshiṇa Kosala. Rāmāyaṇa scenes are, however, found at the Sômêśvara temple of Kirāḍū[1], and the Nîlakaṇṭhêśvara temple of Kêkînda[2] both in Rājasthān. These monuments belong to 10th-12th centuries A.D. From this evidence, we can infer that the early mediaeval art of northern India had some influence of the Rāmāyaṇa.

To the north of the unfinished temple, is another temple,[3] which has undergone extensive repairs. Beglar noticed it in a decayed condition, although complete, having four chambers and a hall.[4] Cousens,[5] who toured the area in 1903-04, saw this temple as it exists today.

The temple faces east. From the account[6] of the previous writers, it appears that the temple was elaborately decorated. The garbhagṛiha and the antarāla were plain, although the mahāmaṇḍapa and the portico were highly ornamented. The mahāmaṇḍapa was built in the Khajurāhô style. Its sculptures contained the above mentioned Rāmāyaṇa scenes among its panels, which are now fixed to the platform of the unfinished temple. The damages to this temple were perhaps due to a large pîpal tree, which still stands in its courtyard. The temple contained two fragmentary inscriptions[7] belonging to the characters of the 10th century A.D.

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1. Agrawal, Ratnachandra, I.H.Q., Vol. XXX, pp. 154-59.
2. Ibid.
3. Photographs No. 52 & 53.
4. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.204.
5. ~~ERAS. WC.~~ 1903-04, p.29.
6. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp.204-07.
7. These inscriptions are untraceable now.

The temple[1], as it stands today, has a Śikhara only. The other parts of the temple are not extant now. The doorway[2] is decorated in its traditional form, similar to that of the unfinished temple described above. The only difference is that the central niche contains a figure of Śiva instead of Vishṇu and it shows that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. The facade have the figures of lions, devotees, geese, gandharvas and vidyādharas in different panels although not in a regular order.

The garbhagṛiha is likewise plain inside. The exterior of the temple is plain. The central projections have two panels on each side. The north side[3] has two images of Śiva, one in the tāṇḍava and the other in līlāsana pose. The western wall[4] depicts two Sūrya images, the upper one is in sitting posture, while the lower image is standing, the latter with the sun-horses on the pedestal. The south face contains four panels. The central niche above has Brahmā in Padmāsana and below it, is Śiva in the tāṇḍava.[5] Near the doorway pillar, both the sons of Śiva are depicted into successive panels.[6] Kārttikèya stands with his vāhana in the upper niche, while the lower panel depicts Gaṇèśa, dancing on his mūshaka. This is a rare sculpture found in a Kalachuri temple of Dakshiṇa Kosala.

The Śikhara has nothing special to mention. It has the same plan as that of the Vishnu temple. The finial has an āmalaka-śilā. In fact the tower has been so much renovated that it requires no description from an antiquarian view point.

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1. Plan of the Siva temple.
2. Photographs No. 54 & 55.
3. Photograph No. 56.
4. Photograph No. 57.
5. Photograph No. 58.
6. Photograph No. 59.

Besides the two temples described above, some other temples also existed in the vicinity.[1] They have all perished by now and no traces of them are visible. Their presence, however, shows beyond doubt that Jānjgir once became a stronghold of the Kalachuri power. Dr. Hiralal thinks that Jānjgir may be a corruption of Jajalla Nagari or the town founded by Jājalladeva.[2] We may recall in this connection that Jājalladeva I is said to have founded the town of Jājallapura, which has been identified by some scholars with Jāñjnagar Pālī( well-known for the Śiva temple described above and which was reconstructed by Jājalladeva I). As the town of Pālī existed in the times of the Bāṇa chiefs, the new township of Jājallapura may be identified with the present Jānjgir. The monuments, found here, appear to have been built much earlier than the period of Jājalladeva II. On stylistic grounds, the temples of Jānjgir belong to the same age as that of the Pālī temple and therefore, the town may be ascribed to Jājalladêva I. The derivation of the word Jānjgir from Jājallapura is,however, not certain.

## NĀRĀYANPUR

Nārāyanpur, a small village 53 miles north-east by east of Raipur on the Mahānadī river contains the important relics, which are ascribed to the Haihaya Kings of Ratnapura. The epigraphical records refer to the construction of a temple of Dhūrjati,[3] a public alms-house abounding in food and drink[4], and the growing of a flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura. Beglar, who visited Nārāyanpur in 1873-74, saw a few temples, which from their style, he placed

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.207.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.272.
3. E.I., Vol. XXVI, p.262.
4. Ibid., Vol XXI, p.165.

after the 9th century A.D.[1] The principal monuments consist of a great temple of Śiva[2] and another of Āditya,[3] the latter being on the north-east corner of the great temple.[4] Mr. G.C.Chandra, surveyed these monuments in 1933-34 and thought them to be a 'Vishṇu temple with two Śikharas of a sober design'.[5]

The main temple is built on a small raised platform and it faces east.[6] It has a garbhagriha and the maṇḍapa attached to it. The rectangular maṇḍapa of the temple is 22 feet in lenght on the south-north side and 18 feet on the east to west side. It is surrounded on its sides by three half walls, which serve as stone benches running all round. The maṇḍapa as a whole is supported by four pillars in the centre and twelve dwarf pillars resting on stone benches running round the three exterior sides. The opening space between the benches and the roof has been filled up by brick-work. This patch-work is evidently a later addition at a subsequent period, when the Śikhara was in danger of collapse and these fill-ups were intended to support the temple as a whole. The dwarf-pillars were also substituted later on to support the roof of the maṇḍapa, which likewise is a later restoration. In its present form, the maṇḍapa, therefore, seems to have gone under extensive repairs and nothing but the garbhagriha and a portion attached to the sanctum remains as original work.

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.193.
2. Ibid., Vol.VII, p. 193-195
3. Ibid., Vol. VII, p.195.
4. Photographs No. 60, 61 & 62.
5. Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1930-34, p.141, Pl. L XXVIII, a-d.
6. See the Plan of the Śiva Temple At Nārāyanapura.

The small entrance to the maṇḍapa is not in its natural position and there is strong reason to believe that this opening was made after the whole maṇḍapa was repaired and its original entrance was blocked by the later restoration. Beglar may be correct in his belief that the opening was formerly from the mahāmaṇḍapa and it went to the maṇḍapa, which once existed in front of it.[1]

The garbhagṛiha is a plain square cell having four pilasters at the corners. The pilasters have projecting moulding in the centre and are surmounted by corbelled capitals resting over a pair of mouldings. The faces are decorated with plain geometrical designs. The pilasters and the side walls support the roof constructed by interesecting squares and ending in a tall Śikhara, which has similarly been repaired in recent times and given a round shape.

The ornamented doorway of the garbhagṛiha has as usual the river goddesses and the dvarapalas. The goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, holding pitchers of water in their hands, are depicted on the left and right jamb respectively. Two pairs of dvārapālas standing by the sides of them guard the entrance. These sculptures, however, are now sadly obliterated. The entrance blocks seem to be supported over by gaṇas, decorated below the pedestals of the individual sculptures. The lintel of the garbhagṛiha is also decorated by the principal deities, but the sculptures are disfigured by the thick coating of the plaster, which makes their identification difficult. Beglar who had been there some ninety years

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1. Beglar, A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p. 194.

ago recognized them to be the figures of Pārvatī with Gaṇêśa and Śiva on either side.[1] If the central figure should be Pārvatī, then the temple would have been dedicated to the goddess alone and not to Śiva. Under any circumstances there is very little doubt that the temple is a Śaiva one.

The side-beams of the entrance are ornamented with floral designs. The two pilasters at the end of the doorway are profusely sculptured. The sculptures contain human figures in various postures, deeply carved and carefully finished. The four central pillars of the mandapa are devoid of ornamentation, but their mouldings are similar to those in the sanctum. A number of statues are placed into the recesses on the brick walls between the dwarf pillars. They belong to Śaiva and Vaishṇava pantheons. The sculptures are not in their original position and give an idea as if they were brought from elsewhere in the vicinity. Cunningham suggests that the temple was built in the manner of the Chandella temples at Khajurāhô. In that case alone, the sculptures if they belonged to the temple itself, could find a rightful place in the mahāmaṇḍapa.[2] The existing maṇḍapa is an open structure and, at present, it is very difficult to ascertain its original shape. The presence of the non-connonical Vaishṇava figures has, therefore, to be attributed to the subsequent repairs in the mandapas and these sculptures evidently came from the temples nearby.

The exterior of the maṇḍapa[3] is similarly decorated with a row of sculptures running between the top and the base of

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.195.
2. For the position of the sculptures in a Khajurāhô temple, the description of the Kandāriyā Mahādêva is helpful, A.S.I.R., Vol.II, p.420.
3. Photograph No.63.

the half walls. They consist of warriors, musicians playing on musical instruments and mithunas. The entrance to the maṇḍapa has two standing figures of Gaṇêśa and Śiva on the left and the right jamb respectively. The bases of the dwarf pillars and the half walls are ornamented with floral patterns and geometrical designs.

Externally, the sanctum or the garbhagṛiha is square in plan having buttresses on the walls. It has a curvilinear Śikhara, which is much renovated in recent times. The superstructure is crowned by the āmalaka. The buttresses or the reentrant-angles thus divide the whole wall into five projections, the central one among which is the principal. The mouldings are deep, bold and decorated with floral designs, geese, elephants and lions beginning from the base in the usual Gaja and Simha tharas. Above these mouldings, two tiers of panels 2'4½" and 2'1" in height follow on all the three sides of the garbhagṛiha. The sculptures are mostly of gandharvas playing on musical instruments, dallying couples and of warriors and gods, indistinct in nature. The central niches on the north wall have the figures of a rider seated on his horse and a standing parichāraka figure with matted hair below it. The former cannot be identified with the image of Rêvanta, and the present sculpture appears to be a royal personage than a god. An umbrella to the left of the parichāraka figure is also depicted. The profusion of mithuna sculptures is not a new thing to this temple, it is a common feature of the mediaeval architecture of 'Chêdi-Kosala'.

Besides the great temple of the Śaiva worship, there is another small temple in the vicinity. The monument stands on the north - east corner of the great temple and is supposed to have been dedicated to Āditya. The shrine faces west and is

devoid of any ornamentation. All the niches of the outer walls are decorated with Vaishṇava deities. The shrine has exterior mouldings, curvilinear Śikhara and the finial in its original shape. At present it is tilting over the great temple from the north.

The ruins of similar shrines at the back and the sides of the great temple indicate that a group of minor shrines once existed around the main temple. Their position is, however, irregular. The ruins, therefore, do not form a coherent plan or represent a common group. It is probable that they were constructed at varying intervals.

From its plan and style, the great temple at Narayanpur essentially belongs to the nāgara style. Unfortunately, the monument does not stand in its original form, having been renovated in recent times. The smaller temple, however, is in its original position and is a good specimen of the northern type. Although no exact details are forthcoming from inscriptional or other data, the architectural and stylistic evidences obtained in both the temples indicate their probability of having been built in the latter half of the 11th century A.D.

Apart from these temples, there are no traces of any other construction of public utility, though there is a specific reference ot it such as the construction of a feeding house in the Kalachuri Inscriptions. Being situated on the bank of the Mahanadi, Nārāyaṇapura or ' the city of god ' must have enjoyed a prominent position during the Kalachuri period. Today it is but a relic of its forgotten glory.

## AKALTARĀ AND KOṬGADH

Seventeen miles east of Bilaspur and ten miles west of Jānjgir is Akaltarā, a place which according to Dr.Hiralal[1] was founded after the name of Akāladêva, a younger brother of Pṛithvīdeva II. Akaltarā has a few modern temples and a few old fragments, here or there, are embedded on the walls of these temples. Beglar[2], who, visited the place in 1873-74, saw the sites of some fine temples, according to popular belief one of them was profusely sculptured with rows of statues on the exterior as at Khajurāhô or Nārāyanpur and of about the same size. At present, there are no existing monuments of the Kalachuri times at Akaltarā.

The modern temple of Siddhêśvara Mahādêva, built into the house of Ṭhākur Har Prasad Singh an ex-Malguzar of Akaltarā, has an inscription of Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Ratnapura kings. The inscribed slab is affixed to the southern wall of the temple and it has been noticed by several scholars.[3] The inscription refers to the construction of the temple of Rêvanta, the son of Saptāśva or Sūrya, a lake called Vallabhasāgara and a 'vāhyālī' at Vikarṇapura[4], which has been identified with the present site of Koṭgaḍh from where the inscription was brought. Vikarṇapura seems to have derived its name from Vikarṇadêva, a prince of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri dynasty.[5]

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1. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, Appendix, p.255; Mahāmadpur stone Inscription, Ins.in C.P. & Berar, No.205,p.123.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.211.
3. Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar, No.202, pp.121-22; Cousens, PRAS, WC., 1903-04, p.29.
4. Mirashi, E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.258, f.n.5.
5. Śeôrīnārāyan stone Ins., Ins.in C.P.& Berar, No.203, p.122.

Dr. Hiralal[1], however, wrongly thought it to be the possible site of old Kumarākoṭa. The inscribed slab, elephants and griffins which are visible on the walls of the Akaltarā temple make it certain that the materials came from a Kalachuri temple, most probably from the temple of Rêvanta.

The fort of Koṭgaḍh is situated about two miles north of Akaltarā on the Balôdā road. It is square in plan with its ramparts about 50 feet high. The enclosed area would be some three or four hundred yeards across. The koṭ has two gates on the east and the west, of which the western one has fretted arches. These gates are not very old and are indicative of reconstruction. The eastern gate, near the village of Bargawān, has two niches on its enclosure wall. The north one has an image of Sūrya[2] and on the south is the goddess Durgā, whose sculpture has now been enclosed in a small hut, attached to the southern facade of the gateway. There are two images of some worshipper sitting in Padmāsana and having both the hands joined for upāsanā. The worshipper also holds lotus flower between the palms as if making the offering.[3] Cousens[4] thought that they might be the images of Vallabharāja, the feudatory chief, who constructed the temple of Rêvanta. But the crude execution of the images shows that they are not very old, and, therefore, cannot be ascribed to the Kalachuri period.

The Worship of Rêvanta:

The temple of Rêvanta should be located in the vicinity

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1. Hiralal, Ins. in C.P. & Berar, No.211, p.127.
2. Photograph No.64.
3. Photograph No.65.
4. PRAS, WC., 1903-04, p.30.

and near about the Sūrya image, which possibly belongs to the former temple. In the centre of the Kachchā fort, while entering from the western gateway, the site of a temple along with the traces of a large tank is found.[1] It is presumed that the temple of Rêvanta, the 'yāhyālī' and a large tank once existed there. Cousens[2] has also suggested the raised earthen site, to be the possible location of the temple of Rêvanta spoken of in the inscription and the tank constructed by Vallabharāja.

The reference to the temple of Rêvanta is somewhat unusual. A son of Sūrya and Saṅjñā, Rêvanta is the chief of the Guhyakas. He is also called Hayavāhana.[3] So far no other temples of this god have been reported from the Chedi-Kosala country. Images of Rêvanta, are, however, found at Manôrā[4] in the Maihar tahsil of Vindhya Pradesh and Tripurī[5]. Specimens belonging to the eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture come from Bihar and Bengal. There are four such images of Rêventa in the Indian Museum[6], one in the Rājshāhi Museum[7], one in the Sārnāth Museum and at least one such image has also been discovered at Nālandā[8]. These images further prove that the worship of Rêvanta had become popular in north India from the 8th to 12th centuries A.D.

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1. Photograph No. 66.
2. PRAS, WC., 1903-04, p.30.
3. Dowson, Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology etc.8th Edn.p.266.
4. Banerji, Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments, p.106, Pl. XLVI (a)
5. Photograph kindly shown by Dr.M.G.Dikshit.
6. Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum, Nos. 5621, 3775-77, p.85.
7. A Catalouge of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, p.26, No.F(C) 1/258
8. Journal and Proc. of A.S.B.(N.S.), Vol. V, pp.392-93; Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, p.123, Pl. LXV.

Worship of Rêvanta is further connected with the Nīrājana[1] ceremony, which is a kind of religious and military ceremony performed by kings or generals of the armies in the month of Āśvina before they marched for victory. ' On the 7th day of the performance of the Nīrājana ceremony, after worshipping Sūrya, Rêvanta, his son is to be worshipped in the interior of the outer gateway by either preparing his image or drawing his picture on an earthen jar'[2].

Similarly the correct significance of the word 'yāhyāli' in the Akaltarā Inscription was not understood till now. It denoted some construction along with the temple of Rêvanta and the lake Vallabhasāgara referred to therein. Dr.D.R.Bhandarkar[3] and others thought a 'yāhyāli', to be the stables for beasts of burden, while some scholars meant by it a veterinary hospital.[4] In fact, a 'yāhyāli' is neither a stable nor a veterinary hospital. It is a place, where elephants and horses of war displayed their trial and strength on the occasion of an annual show, which was generally held in the month of Āśvina or after the rainy season ended. The 'yāhyāli' contained a large show-ground surrounded by a moat wall, the 'Ālôkamandira' or the chamber, where the king and the members of his court took their seats.

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1. Śrī Bhôja: Yuktikalpataru, p.178.
2. 'Śabdakalpadruma' of Rājā Rādhākāntadêva (published between 1822 and 1858), quoted by Cousens, PRAS, WC., 1903-04, f.n.p.30.
3. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.52.
4. Pt. Lochan Prasad Pandeya thinks that 'yāhyāli' meant a veterinary hospital;

   Prof. Mirashi, however, suggests altogether a different meaning of the word i.e. 'outskirts of the town', C.I.I, Vol.IV, p.436, f.n.1.

The description of a 'vāhyāli' [1] occurs in 'Mānasôllāsa', the encyclopaedic work of the Western Chālukya King Sômêśvara and it belongs to the first half of the 12th century A.D. 'Vāhyāli' was not known to the author of 'Mānasāra' although a pavilion[2] to see the marching horses, elephants and vehicles is described in it. Varāhamihira,[3] also refers to the construction of a tôraṇa, a Śāntisadma and an āśrama in connection with the NIrājana ceremony. Evidently the vāhyāli was constructed for the NIrājana ceremony. It was built of wooden material.[4] Wooden structures were not unknown in the Kalachuri period.[5] The annual show at vāhyāli was considered to be an auspicious ceremony and a sort of mock fight[6] was arranged. The different signs predicted the victory or loss[7] to the king or the general. Horses or elephants were brought, after having been consecrated, bathed and decorated with new white clothes, perfumes, garlands and incense to the āśrama[8] or the show-ground, afterwards known as vāhyāli.

The construction of the temple of Kêvanta together with Vallabhasāgara lake and the vāhyāli, therefore, has an archaeological as well as an historical significance. It is

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1. Mānasôllāsa, (G.O.S.) Vol.II, p.199(Baroda, 1939).
2. षट्सप्तावरणो वापि दक्षिणो पश्चिमेऽपि च (वा) ।
   उत्तरे पूर्वके वापि गजम (जा) श्वादिवाहनम् (नानि) ।
   अारण्ह्यालोकनार्थं च मण्डपं परिकल्पयेत् ।।
   Mānasāra, Ed. P.K.Acharya, Vol.III, Chap.XL, p.278.
3. Bṛihatsaṁhitā, Chap. XLIV, 3,4,8.
4. Ibid., Chap. XLIV, 3,4,8.
5. Kharod Stone Inscription of K.E. 933, C.I.I., Vol.IV,p.539.
6. Mānasôllāsa, Vol II, pp.200-202 & 222-223.
7. Ibid., Vol. II, pp.203 & 224.
8. Bṛihatsaṁhitā, Chap. XLIV, 15-16.

also probable that Vallabharāja finished these constructions before he marched on his well-known expedition, which brought about his victory over the Gauḍa King.[1]

As regards the date of the building of this temple of Rêvanta, lake and vāhyāli, we can give a precise dating to these constructions. In lines 21-22 of the Akaltarā stone inscription[2], discussed above, we are informed that 'in the form of a temple to Rêvanta, son of Saptāśva i.e. Sūrya, he (Vallabharāja) made over an ornament to the earth, thinking her (i.e. the earth) to be the crowned queen of his lord Pṛithvīdêva, and by means of this exquisite work, he struck even Viśvakarman with dismay.[3] Pṛithvīdeva, whom Vallabharāja styles as his over-lord was Pṛithvīdeva II and that both Pṛithvīdeva II and Vallabharāja were alive in the Kalachuri year 893 = A.D. 1141-42, is clear from the fragmentary Kugḍā inscription.[4] It is, therefore, certain that Vallabharāja built the temple and other items before 1141-42 A.D.

## KÔNĪ

Kônī is a small village on the left bank of the river Arpā, about 12 miles South-East of Bilaspur. A stone slab bearing the inscription of the reign of Pṛithvīdeva II dated in the Kalachuri year 900 (A.D. 1147-48) was discovered in 1945. The inscription[5] records the construction of a pañchāyatana or five-

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1. Bhandarkar, D.R., PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, p.51.
2. C.I.I., Vol.IV, p.433.
3. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.51.
4. Kielhorn, I.A., Vol.XX, p.84.
5. Mirashi, E.I., Vol.XXVII, pp.276-87.

shrined temple of Śiva by Purushôttama, a Sarvādhikārin of Pṛithvīdeva II's father Ratnadeva II, evidently at the same place. The site with a black granite liṅga, prominently standing in the centre, has been reported about ½ mile west of Kônī.[1] It consists of a small mound strewn over with brickbats. The villagers, while digging there, have laid bare the linga, the inscribed slab and a number of sculptures, among which two images of Vishṇu and Sūrya and some lintels each with a figurine of Gaṇêśa in the centre, are specially noteworthy.

The liṅga is now worshipped, in a newly constructed temple of Śiva, where the sculptures are also housed.

## MALLĀR

Mallār (old Mallālapattana) is 16 miles south-east of Bilaspur. After the village of Būḍhīkhār, there comes a mud fort surrounded by a large moat and then we enter the site of the old town. The village seems to have occupied an important position in the history of Dakshiṇa Kosala, as the antiquities beginning from the early centuries of the Christian era are coming to light from this place.

Mallār was a flourishing centre of religious worship under the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. The Ratanpur stone inscription of the Kalachuri year 915 ( A.D. 1163-64) describes, among the benefactions of the māṇḍalika Brahmadeva, the construction of a temple of Dhūrjati and a beautiful lake at Mallāla.[2] Another inscription of the Chedi year 919 (A.D.1168), which

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1. Ibid., Vol.XXVII, p.276.
2. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.161.

comes from Mallār itself, records the building of a charming temple of the god Kêdāra by Sômarāja in the town of Mallāla.[1] The exact locations of these temples are not known, as the inscriptions and sculptures are not preserved in their original places.

The village has as many as 63 tanks,[2] some of which appear to be quite old. Recently the site of a beautiful temple has been dug out by the inhabitants of the village near the bank of a large tank, as we reach the village from Būḍhīkhār. Two door-jambs represent the river-goddesses along with two dvārapālas or male gods on either side of the goddesses. This predominant feature of the Kalachuri temples, has similarly been noted at Pāli and Jānjgir. The temple has suffered from some natural calamity. The upper parts of the temple have completely collapsed. Its lower part has been buried under-ground. The villagers have erected a tin-shed over the temple in which two sculptures[3] of Umā-mahêśvara, one big and the other comparatively small, are kept. An image[4] of some devotee with his two wives on either side is also kept in this newly constructed shrine. Crudeness of the latter makes it doubtful whether it was ever bastowed the careful chiselling at the hands of the Kalachuri master artists. The two sculptures of Umā-mahêśvara are undoubtedly good specimens of the Kalachuri art.

Another site of a temple is found on the other bank of the same tank. At present it is nothing but a small tower of fallen stones. The stone-boulders are plain and are, therefore,

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1. E.I., Vol. I, p. 42.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.28.
3. Photographs No. 67 & 68.
4. Photograph No. 69.

without any interest. Beglar[1] probably refers to these two sites as the remains of two temples. Besides these, there are some other sculptures in the village. Some Jain figures are placed on a chabūtarā in the village. A modern temple of Kewatin which is about a mile away from the village, contains a beautiful sitting image of Lakshmī made of black stone. A mithuna is also visible on the newly constructed wall of the temple. Some sculptures of Umā-mahêśvara are found among the large collection of statues preserved by the villagers in three rooms, near the newly discovered temple, described above. These vestiges, therefore, make it clear that Mallāla was an important town of the Ratnapura-Rajya.

## SÉÔRĪNĀRĀYAN

Śeôrīnārāyan, which is one of the two sacred places of pilgrimage in Chhattisgarh (the other being Rājim), is 39 miles South-east of Bilaspur. It is situated on the left bank of the Mahānadī, on the junction of the Jônk river. Pilgrims from far off places in Central India visit this place, as it lies on their way to Puri. Religious texts[2] include this Kshêtra in the Kaliṅga or Orissan tract. Śeôrīnārāyan derives its name from the god Śavarīnārāyaṇa, with whose worship it is associated. Formerly, it was known to have been situated in a forest area, but the present day Śeôrīnārāyan is devoid of any forest in the vicinity.

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.204.
2. 'Śrī Śaurīnārāyaṇa Māhātmya' a manuscript kindly given to me for consultation by Pt.Rāmchandra Bhôgahā of the Śeôrīnārāyaṇa temple. The work alludes to 'Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā'.

The extant architectural remains at Śeôrīnārāyan do not seem to be very old. The ancient remains here are within the vicinity of the main temple of Śavarīnārāyaṇa and form themselves into a homogeneous group enclosed within a large courtyard. Many of them are undoubtedly old but are now hopelessly repaired in modern times and are beyond recognition. Beglar[1] particularly mentions smaller temples as the most ancient ones, but none of them is either elegant in appearance nor possesses any architectural peculiarities worth mention.

The temple of 'Śavarīnārāyaṇa'[2] faces east and, as Cousens has remarked, 'is an uninteresting modern white-washed building.'[3] The doorway lintel has an image of Gaṇêśa, while the god worshipped inside the temple is Śrī-Nārāyaṇa along with his brother, Baladeva. In place of the river goddesses two standing dvārapālas guard the entrance. Evidently the doorway and the colossal dvārapālas were taken from some old temple and are re-instituted in this temple.

The temple of Chandrachūḍêśvara is between the Śavarī-nārāyaṇa and the Kêśavanārāyaṇa temples. It is smaller in dimentions with modern plastering all over the shrine. The only note - worthy feature about this temple, is the stone-inscription built into its southern wall. This record[4] gives us useful information about a collateral branch of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It is dated in the Chedi year 919= 1168 A.D. The object of the

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp. 196-201.
2. For photograph, see Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.294.
3. PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, p.30.
4. Bhandarkar, PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, pp. 52.-53.

inscription is to record the grant of the village Chiñchòlī by Kumārapāla, belonging to the race of of Sahasrārjuna, to the god Chandrachūḍa. This shows that the temple of Chandrachūḍêśvara was held in high esteem by the Kalachuri princes. But it is diffcult to believe that the Kalachuris themselves built this temple, as the inscription is only a votive record.

The temple of Kêśavanārāyaṇa is situated in front of the Śāvarīnārāyaṇa temple, separated from the latter by the small shrine of Chandrachūḍêśvara. It is a brick-temple and its original form is further obliterated by subsequent plastering. In plan, the temple is a star-shaped building and is really unique temple here from the architectural point of view. The temple is dedicated to the god Vishnu, whose image is found inside the temple. The shrine doorway[1] has the river goddesses along with the male gods( Some forms of Vishṇu, one of them appears to have been in 'Śrīdhara' form)on its either side. The execution of these images makes it certain that the sculptures belong to the same age as the temples at Nārāyaṇapura and Pālī. But we do not notice the star-shaped plan in a brick-temple in the Kalachuri-times. It is perhaps on the basis of the sculptures of the gateway that Cousens[2] dated the temple to the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. In fact, the temple in its original plan should be dated still earlier, only the elaborate sculptures are the Kalachuri additions.

Besides the sculptures of the Kêśavanārāyaṇa temple, one inscribed image of the warrior Saṁgrāmasiṁha[3] and some other sculptures, such as an image of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa,[4] seated on

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1. Photograph No.70.
2. PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, p.30.
3. PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, p.53; and also Photograph No.71.
4. Photograph No. 72.

Guruḍa, which are undoubtedly of the Kalachuri period, Śeôrī-nārāyan affords no clue to any other Kalachuri-monument in the vicinity. It is said that ' Śeôrīnārāyan was formerly a favourite residence of the Ratanpur court and the royal ladies often came here to bathe in the Mahanadi.'[1]

## KHARÔD

Kharôd is situated 37 miles south-west of Bilaspur and 3 miles to the north-west of Śeôrīnārāyan. A large number of brick-bats are seen strewn over an extensive mound on which the village stands. Traces of a rempart wall and a moat show that the place has a very old history.

Architectural remains at Kharôd, contain two old brick temples, which belong to the same age as that of Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur. The temple of Śavarīdèvī[2] is on the southern side of the village and in plan, general patterns and mouldings it resembles the Sirpur temple. To the north of the village, is another square brick temple. It has no maṇḍapa at present. The doorway has the standing figures of the river goddesses, one on either side, each having an umbrella above it and with attendants. The outer door-frame mouldings are carved in bold relief with small figures. Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa occupies the middle part of the doorway lintel.

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1. Bilaspur District Gazetter, p.295.
2. For photograph, see Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.272.

Beglar,[1] who visited Kharod in 1873-74, noticed other small temples, among which a temple of the Sun-god, with the deity having seven horses shown on the pedestal, struck him.The remains of these temples comprising of single cells only, are still in existence. But they are in a neglected state and their stones lie uncared for. The sculptures, removed from these temples, are displayed near various modern temples in the vicinity.

The temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara or Lakhnêśvara is the largest and most important monument at Kharôd. It stands to the north-west of the village and has undergone extensive repairs and restorations in recent times. In its present form, the temple gives no idea of its antiquity. The date, however, is determined by a Kalachuri inscription[2], affixed to the Southern wall of the maṇḍapa. It is dated in the Chedi year 933, corresponding to 1181-82 A.D. However, the presence of another inscription[3] in the Brāhmī characters of 8th century A.D. on the northern wall of the maṇḍapa raises the question whether the temple was originally built in the eight century A.D. Cousens thinks that the latter inscription refers to the grant made to a temple of Śiva.[4] But the Kharôd inscription of Ratnadeva III of K.E. 933, in unmistakable terms records the construction of a new temple dedicated to the god Śiva.[5]

The temple, as it exists now, stands on a raised

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp.201-03.
2. E.I., Vol. XXI, pp. 159-65.
3. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.54.
4. Ibid., p. 32.
5. ' चक्रे नवीनं सहजशुभमतिर्म्मण्डपं भूतपत्युः । '
   - C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 538-539.

platform. It is enclosed from all sides by high walls. The garbhagṛiha, which seems to be a square building from outside, faces the east. The river goddesses at the entrance stand on their vāhanas in form of human figures. The sanctum is exceedingly dark and, therefore, nothing could be made out from inside. Two parallel rows of stone pillars support the mandapa, which is devoid of any ornamentation internally except the two inscriptions, mentioned above. The mandapa is likewise enclosed by high walls.

Externally the temple has nothing special to note. A thick-coating of plaster, along with other modern renovations has changed its entire shape and the original plan of the temple is completely obliterated. Two panels of Umā-maheśvara[1] and a devotee with his wife[2] are visible on the northern and southern walls of the sanctum. Inside the courtyard, to the north-east corner of the outer wall, two niches are found, one of them a Jain sculpture[3] and the other one an inscribed statue of Paṇḍita Dāmôdara.[4] Reference to Paṇḍita Dāmôdara is also found in the Amodā plates[5] of Jājalladeva II.

An interesting legend is current among the villagers about the origin of the temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara. It is said that once Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma, was suffering from Yakshmā. He came to this place, which formed a part of the famous daṇḍakāraṇya. He decided to worship lord Śiva,

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1. Photograph No.73.
2. Photograph No.74.
3. Photograph No. 75.
4. Photograph No. 76.
5. E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 212-13.

who emerged out of the earth in the form of the present Lakshmaṇêśvara liṅgam and by his worship, Lakshmaṇa was cured.[1]

The legend may lack in its historical authenticity, but the temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara is one of the five Śiva temples in Chhattisgarh,[2] the others being at Fiṅgêśwar, Rājim, Sirpur and Ratanpur.

Besides the temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara, the Kharôd inscription refers to the construction of a maṇḍapa for Śauri[3] and that of a maṭha[4] made of well-seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics to the south of the former temple of Śiva. It has been inferred from this description that the tāpasa-maṭha is the famous monastery at Śeôrīnārāyan[5]. But in the latter case, it would be two miles away from the temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara and it does not seem reasonable to connect the monastery of Śeôrī-nārāyan with the temple at Kharôd, when the former is itself situated, at the place of Śrī-Hari. The maṇḍapa for Śauri and the maṭha for ascetics should be located in the vicinity of the temple of Lakshmaṇêśvara. Unfortunately, they are untraceable now.

From its situation and ancient monuments, Kharod seems

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1. ' क्षयरोग निवारार्थं पूजितम् लक्ष्मणेश्वरम् '
   I owe this information to Pt. Kapilnath Mishra, Pradhan Pujari of the Lakshmaṇêśvara temple.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p. 202.
3. ' कारितं विस्तृतंशौरिमण्डपं पुण्यकारिणा ।'
4. ' मठः कठोर काष्ठौघैरत्रैवाकारि धीमता ।
   देव दक्षिणदिग्भागे निवासार्थंन्तपस्विनाम् ।।'
5. 'शिवरीनारायण माहात्म्य' contains the same idea.

to have been a place of importance with a continuous history in the past. People say that it was known as Kumarā-koṭapa ttana[1] in the former days. A Śiva temple[2] in Kumarākoṭapattana is said to have been built by Brahmadeva, a māṇḍalika of Pṛithvīdeva II. There is no evidence, however, to connect Kumarākoṭa with Kharôd either through etimology or inscriptional evidence.

## BALÔDĀ

The Kharôd inscription[3] refers to the construction of a maṇḍapa for 'the emeny of the (three) cities', i.e. Śiva and to extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇêśa[4] in the forest of Vaḍada. Dr. Hiralal[5] and later on Dr.N.P. Chakravarti[6] identified the place with the present Balôdā, 5 miles from Kharôd and three miles south-east of Śeôrīnārāyan. Beglar,[7] who visited the village in 1873-74, saw a laterite liṅgam, on the banks of Bandhuā tank, which is

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1. This information was kindly supplied to me by Pt. Kapilnath Mishra of Kharod.
2. E.I., Vol. XXVI, p. 262.
3. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 165.
4. मण्डपं वने वडदे पुरारातेर्विनिर्मितम् ।
   हरहैरम्बयोश्चक्रे तत्रैव विस (श) दालयौ ॥
5. Ins. in C.P. & Berar, 2nd edition, p. 118.
6. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 162.
7. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p. 196.

said to have sprung up from the ground. He also noticed the traces of an old temple there, presumably a Śaiva one. The village at present has no other architectural remains.

## RĀJIM

Rājim, one of the holy places in Chhattisgarh, is 29 miles to the south-east of Raipur. The town stands on the right bank of the Mahānadī at its confluence with the Pairi and Sondhal rivers. The place occupied an important position in early times, as it was on the way to holy Jagannātha in Orissa.

The three important architectural remains at Rājim are the temples of Rājivalôchana, Rāmachandra and Kulêśvara Mahādêva. Beglar[1], Cunningham[2] and Cousens[3] have given their long accounts of these temples and from their description, it is almost certain that none of these temples belongs to the Kalachuri period. It is, however, strange that the inscription[4] of Jagapaladeva of the Chedi year 896, distinctly records the establishment of the temple of Rāma and the donation of the village Śālmalīya for naivêdya of the deity by Jagapāladeva.[5]

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp. 148-56.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol. XVII, pp. 6-20.
3. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, pp. 24-26.
4. I.A., Vol. XVII, pp. 135-40.
5. - ईदृशश्च भवेत्पुंसो जगपालोऽपि सुन्दरा: । रामशोभ: संकाशार्थं प्रासादं कारितमिमम् ।।
शाल्मलीयं नाम ग्रामं नैवेद्याय निवेदितं । ये च भूपा भविष्यन्ति पालयिष्यन्ति सर्व्वदा:।
- I.A., Vol. XVII, p. 140.

From a still older inscription belonging to the eigth century A.D., Dr.Hiralal infers that 'a temple of Vishṇu was erected for the increase of religious merit' at the same place.[1] Beglar[2] and Cunningham[3] both have identified the temple of Rāmachandra with the present Rājivalôchana temple. The deity worshipped inside is that of Vishṇu, with his usual symbols of the club, the discus, the conch and the lotus,[4] while the representation of Rāma[5] should have been with the traditional bow and the arrow. Cousens, however, suggests that the inscription of Jagapāladeva 'may refer to the other old temple of Rāmachandra rather than to Rājivalôchana and it may have been brought from that temple, which is now in little use, and set up in this one to lend importance to it.'[6] But the close scrutiny of the so-called temple of Rāmachandra leads us no where. The walls and roof are apparently recent constructions. The old pillars, door-frames and sculptures described by Cousens[7] are still earlier than the advent of the Kalachuri rule of Dakshiṇa Kosala. The pillars, pilasters, door-frames and many of the sculptures, used in this temple, appear to have been

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1. Raipur District Gazetteer, p.332.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.150.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.7.
4. अथ्च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद: स्यो गदाधरश्चान्य: ।
   दक्षिणपार्श्वे त्वेवं वामे शंखश्च चक्रं च ।।

   Brihatsaṁhitā, LVIII,34.
5. रामस्तुद्विभुजोलेख्य: शरचापधरोविभु: ।

   Mānasôllāsa, Vol.II, p.61.
6. PRAS.,WC., for 1903-04, p.25-26.
7. Ibid., p.26.

built by the Pāṇḍava kings of Sirpur. Cousens goes a step further in his attempt as to 'think it probable that the hall of the ruined shrine of Lakshmaṇa was rifled for the new temple of Rājiva-Lôchana'.[1] The outer entrance of the court-yard, on the west has Śêshaśāyī Vishṇu on its lintel and this feature is altogether absent in a Kalachuri temple, where Vishṇu is always depicted in līlāsana pose and outer niches are like-wise occupied by Brahmā and Śiva.[2] Similarly the sculptures, displayed in the temple are associated with the Nāga-motif, which is rarely found in the Kalachuri art. Human figures[3] distinctly mark a difference on stylistic ground. In this way, the whole arrangement of the Rājivalôchana temple is quite different from that of any Kalachuri temple found in Mahākosala and from the material used in its construction, it is very near or similar to the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur. Writers like Cunningham, Cousens, Longhurst and even recently Prof.V.V.Mirashi have argued that the temples at Rājim were built out of the originals taken from Sirpur. Though the distance between the two places is hardly 40 miles and both of them are situated on the banks of the same river, it is hardly possible that such an enormous mass of stone-work should have been taken to Rājim. It is more likely that the work at Rājim was executed by artisans influenced by the Sirpur specimens.

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1. PRAS., WC., for 1903-04, p.24.
2. This occurs in Janjgir temple.
   Vide photograph No.37.
3. For photograph, See Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.337.

It is even ... likely that the same persons were employed in the execution of the sculpture at both the places.

In fact the architectural remains at Śêôrînārāyan, Kharôd and Rājim are so extensively repaired and modernized that they disappoint us in our investigation for the Kalachuri architecture.

## GATAURĀ, DHAMPUR AND OTHER MINOR SITES

Gataurā is a village 9 miles east of Bilaspur. Many statues carefully executed and finished in black stone are lying over the village. Some of these statues are kept in the verandah of the Patel's house, which according to his version were brought from a nearby tank called Oḍavā talāo, in the west of the village. Out of this collection, three panels namely of Umāmahêśvara[1] (similar to those found at Ratanpur, Mallār and elsewhere), Lakshmīnārāyaṇa[2] (Garuḍa in human form) and a doorway lintel[3], having Śiva in the central niche are of the Kalachuri period.

To the north of the village there is another tank known as Purênā talāo, which has a comparatively modern temple on its western side. The temple is dedicated to Śiva and faces east. It has a garbha-gṛiha and maṇḍapa resting on twelve pillars. The front wall of the garbha-gṛiha has two panels-one of a female devotee[4] and the other one a Chāmaradhāriṇī[5] affixed

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1. Photograph No. 77.
2. Photograph No. 78.
3. Photograph No. 79.
4. Photograph No.80.
5. Photograph No.81.

to the either side of the entrance. All the five panels from this village are the remarkable finds of Kalachuri Art. Apart from a number of sculptures, the village has no architectural remains in the vicinity.

## DHANPUR

Dhanpur or Dhangāon is five miles to the north of Peṇḍrā. Beglar[1] surveyed many sites there scattered over four square miles of area, but the great mass of them are compressed within an area of half a square mile. It is suggested in the District Gazetteer[2] that Dhanpur was the capital of the chiefs of Kôṁô-maṇḍala, who were the feudatories of the Ratnapura Kings.

The principal ruins lie about half a mile to the north of the Bhauntarā tank. Some of the temples are built of brick and stone and others of stone, the bricks being of the same size and age as are found at Sirpur.[3] Several sculptures,[4] which are found on the banks of the Bhauntarā and the Śôbhānātha tanks are mainly Jain and many of these statues are taken to nearly places and are housed in some newly constructed Jain temples. Some such images of Jain TIrthaṅkaras are worshipped in the local Jain temple at Peṇḍrā Road. These evidences are enough to show that Dhanpur was an important centre of Jainism in olden times.

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, pp.237-38.
2. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p.266.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.238.
4. Photographs No. 82 & 83.

Besides Jain images, the traces of Brāhmanical worship are also found at Dhanpur. Some ruins of Hindu temples are lying near a tank to the south of the present village. A few Śaiva sculptures particularly lingas have been collected from this area and are at present enshrined in a recently built temple near the village. The Ratanpur stone-inscription[1] of K.E. 915(1163-64 A.D.), which according to some people has originally come from Dhanpur,[2] refers to a temple of the god Sômanātha. If the stone-slab really comes from Dhanpur, then the site of the said temple must be somewhere in the vicinity but nothing can be said with certainty regarding this fact.

The sculptures from Dhanpur are the only means of dating the antiquities found here. Beglar[3] correctly assigned them to a period after 9th century A.D. and as such they belong to the Kalachuri period.

Besides Dhanpur, Sôṇṭhī, Pathariā, Barèlā and Pôrath are said to have contained Śiva temples in them. But the recorded temples are untraceable there. Pāṇḍātarāi, which is a village in the former Pandariā zamindāri of the Mungeli tahsil in Bilaspur district appears to have been of considerable importance in ancient times and cut stones and other remains of buildings are often found below the surface of the ground in the neighbourhood. An old temple with fine carvings still exists there. But the temple is of a later date. Bamhaṇī, Baṇārī and

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1. E.I., Vol.XXVI, p.263, VV.36-39.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.214.
3. Ibid., Vol.VII, p.238.

Seṇḍrī, where the tanks are referred to have been excavated during the Kalachuri period, have a number of tanks in their vicinity. Some of them may be very old. But, we can not say with certainty that they really belonged to the Kalachuri period. Seṇḍrī or old Sêṇādarā, which is 8 miles from Bilaspur on the Bilaspur-Ratanpur Road, had an old tank. It has been further enlarged in its dimensions by the Irrigation Department and now waters a large area surrounding it.

## MAIN FEATURES OF KALACHURI ARCHITECTURE

The foregoing discussion on the Kalachuri temples of the area, under review, reveals the following main features of the temple architecture. It essentially comes under the Indo-Āryan type of temple, whose touch-stone is the design of the spire or the Śikhara.[1] Unfortunately not a single Kalachuri monument, in its entirety, exists in Dakshiṇa Kosala. In style, plan and execution of details, a Kalachuri temple is nearer to its counterpart in Central India, particularly to the temple of Khajurāhô[2] and Sôhāgpur.[3]

The plan, the Śikhara and the maṇḍapa are the three main features of a Kalachuri temple. In plan the temple possesses a square sanctum with pilasters at the four corners. The roof of the dome consists of slabs formed by interesecting squares. So far as we have known, no temple with circular garbhagṛiha has

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1. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu, p.134.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol.II, pp. 412-39.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp. 239-46.

been found in Chhattisgarh. Such temples, which are called the Chedi type of mediaeval temples,[1] by some scholars are found at Chandrehe[2] and Gurgi[3] in Dāhala. Taking into account the fact that both these temples are related to the Mattamayūra sect of the Pāśupatas and further that the hyperthral temple of the sixty-four Yôginīs at Bhêrāghāṭ and the remnants of a circular temple excavated at Tripurī belonging to the same sect show a circular plan, it is plausible that the circular plan of the temples in toto or in respect of the sanctum has something to do with the religious cult than to the dynasty or the country as is supposed by Prof.Banerji[4].

The square sanctum, which is invariably found in a Kalachuri temple in Dakshiṇa Kosala, is similar to the ground plan of the Rêkhā and Bhadra temples of Orissan architecture, which is also square.[5] The former has pilasters at the four corners as an invariable feature[6], while the latter has no side-pilasters[7] as such. Externally the three walls of the sanctum of a Kalachuri temple are formed of three broad phases (aṅgas) and the corners are recessed or projecting into five or seven reentrant sub-phases on each wall. In an Orissan temple, only

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1. Banerji, The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments, p.45.
2. Ibid., p.33.
3. Ibid., p.45, pl. LIV.
4. The point has been discussed by Dr.M.G.Dikshit in his Tripurī Exvacation Report, 1952, pp.33-38.
5. Bose, Nirmal Kumar, Canons of Orissan Architecture, p.78.
6. See, Plans of the temples.
7. Bose, Nirmal Kumar, Canons of Orissan Architecture, plan opposite, page 124.

the triaṅga (three segmented) or the pañcha-aṅga bāṛa is found among them the former has a wider distribution than the latter.[1]

Externally, the Śikhara has three faces as usual i.e. the west, the north and the south. The eastern face has the maṇḍapa attached to it. Each face is again divided into five rectangular projections, among which the middle one is always prominent and generally it depicts the main deity to which the temple is dedicated. These projections are formed of the reentrant angles running at the corners of the Śikhara. The Śikhara is adorned by deep rich mouldings at the base. It is superimposed by two tiers of panels of sculptures running round the three faces of the temple. This method is generally followed in all the Kalachuri temples of Mahākosala. At the junction of the wall and the vimāna of the Śikhara, the temple at Pālī has the figure of a Kīchaka or a gaṇa,[2] as if in the act of supporting the entire burden of the vimāna. This feature is very distinctly marked in this temple alone and has no counter part in the Kalachuri architecture of Mahākosala. In the Deccan, however, in the Hêmāḍpanthī of the comparable date the gaṇa is replaced by the figure of a Kīrttimukha or a niche-shrine.

Unfortunately details of the finial of a Kalachuri temple are not available. The upper portion of the Pālī temple has lost its courses and has been reconstructed in modern times. It is crowned by the āmalaka. The Vishṇu temple at Jānjgīr is likewise an unfinished one. The Śikhara is in ruined condition

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1. Bose, Canons of Orissan Architecture, p.93.
2. Photograph No. 23.

but it is profusely sculptured right upto the top.

The roof of the sanctum of a Kalachuri temple is circular. It is formed of several courses in tiers. The garbhagṛiha has plain walls in the interior always having one entrance. The doorway-lintel has the three principal deities in its three niches, Śiva or Vishṇu, according to the nature of the temple always occupying the central niche as a rule. The space between these three niches is filled up by the navagrahas in a row.[1] The door-jambs have the river-goddesses along with single or a pair of male-gods guarding the entrance.[2] The upper half of the door-jamb depicts the daśāvatāras[3] or the saptamāṭṛikās.[4] The minuteness of details and the profusion of sculptures on an accepted underlined principle evince good scope for study in Mahākosala in a Kalachuri temple from the archaeological point of view.

The maṇḍapa, which is an essential part of the Kalachuri temple is missing in case of the temples at Pālī and Jānjgir. At the former place it is partially rebuilt in the modern times. It is octagonal in shape, formed by cutting off the corners of the square diagonally by massive architraves, which are again supported by the pilasters resting at the base. The side-walls of the maṇḍapa have projecting windows with sloping back-rests. This feature is also noticeable at Sôhāgpur[5] and Khaju-

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1. For the representation of planets in North Indian temples, Mr.C.Sivaramamurti's article in Ancient India, No.6, p.35, is helpful.
2. Photographs No. 1, 10 & 37.
3. Photograph No. 1.
4. Photograph No. 24.
5. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.241.

raho[1]. 'Each tier of the over-lapping courses of the dome is richly fretted and coved, the whole arrangement forming a hemisphere of semi-circularly hollowed niches each enshrining a small seated figure with folded hands.'[2]

The four central pillars in maṇḍapa which are found in a Khajurāhô temple[3] are conspicuously absent in a Kalachuri temple such as those of Pālī and Sôhāgpur. Sometimes two extra pillars are placed in front, in line with the side pilasters of the doorway of the garbha-gṛiha. They are probably added to support the failing architraves. This feature has only been witnessed at Pālī[4] and Sôhāgpur[5].

The Kalachuri architecture of Dakshiṇa Kosala or Chhattisgarh besides these characteristics, shares the main features of its counter-part in Ḍāhala or Central India. The Pāṇḍavas of Southern Kosala by their building activities at Sirpur and elsewhere marked a transition between the Gupta temples and the early mediaeval temples of North India.[6] The Kalachuris of Ratanpur in their turn by inheriting the Gupta tradition of Central India remained faithful to the early mediaeval architecture of North India. The Kalachuri architecture, therefore, completes the process of take over from the Gupta tradition by the more vigorous activity of the Early Mediaeval Age.

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1. Ibid., Vol.II, p.419.
2. Beglar, A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p. 217.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol.II, p.419.
4. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta,1939, Photograph opposite p.323.
5. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.243.
6. J.M.P.I.P., Vol.II, p.41.

# CHAPTER XI

## SCULPTURE.

Mediaeval sculpture generally serves the decorative purpose of its architecture.[1] The Kalachuri images and sculptures of Chhattisgarh are mostly a part and parcel of architecture. Very few specimens have been found outside a Kalachuri monument. The Kalachuri temples contain in them sculptures relating to their pantheons and allied deities. Practically the whole of the Chhattisgarh tract abounds in images mostly scattered and strewn about the neighbourhood of ancient remains of the temples. These images are considered here as component units of the temples themselves wherever encountered and the individual sculptures, which are mostly disjecta membra, are studied accordingly. The images bearing the testimony of Kalachuri art belong to the following temples:-

1. Tumān doorway;
2. Śiva temple at Pālī;
3. Śiva temple at Jānjgir;
4. Doorway of a Śiva temple inside Ratanpur Fort;
5. Śiva temple at Nārāyanpur;
6. Unfinished Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir.

Most of the images connected with the architecture have already been described. There is no need to repeat them here again. The images sharing life with the architecture are usually made of red sandstone[2] or polished yellow-greyish stone.[3] It has been

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1. Sankalia, H.D.: Archaeology of Gujarāt, p.146.
2. Tumān and Ratanpur doorways.
3. Jānjgir, Pālī and Nārāyanpur.

suggested that 'Mediaeval Indian Sculpture was created at the great cave-temple, sites and its technique and its sense of values are derived directly from the cave-temples. Preserving its rock-cut bas-relief nature, it is scruplously faithful to its material.'[1] Mediaeval architecture of the Indo-Aryan style, which takes the form of stone-built temple is undoubtedly the second stage of development of cave-architecture in India. In the Gupta Age, which marks the first stage of the temple architectural development, the structural character of building construction realizes the importance of aesthetic motive in its life. Percy Brown rightly thinks it to be the'emergence of the earliest known conception of the Hindu"house of god."[2] Similarly sculpture, which served the decorative purpose of Indian architecture from its very beginning centred round the doorway leading to the sanctum in a Gupta temple.[3]The decorated entrance of the sanctum, thus,became 'the chief centre of attraction in a Gupta temple and it served as an elegant outer frame to set off the image installed in the cella.'[4] The outer-decoration undoubtedly takes its origin from the Stupa architecture, in which the torana and the railing, as found at Sanchi[5] and Bharhut[6],become a main source of elegance to entire structure. In the mediaeval

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1. K.DeB.Codrington - Mediaeval Indian Sculpture,London 1929,p.23.
2. 'Indian Architecture,'Budhist and Hindu, 2nd Edition, p.58.
3. Banerji,'The temple of Śiva at Bhumarā', MASI; No.16,pl.III(a).
4. Agrawal, V.S.: Gupta Art,Lucknow, p.23.
5. J.Marshall & A.Foucher, Monuments of Sanchi, Pl. V.
6. Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 4ff, referred to in Archaeology In India, p.81.

architecture, the elaborate ornamentation of the doorframe, together with the profuseness of sculptures found on the outer walls, pillars and pilasters marks the culmination of Indian sculpture. The representation of aesthetic quality in the Gupta sculpture gradually began to be standardised with the appearance of Śilpa Śāstra works such as Śilparatna, Śilpasāra, Śilpasaṁgraha, Mānasāra, Aparājita-pricchā and Rūpamaṇḍana. The sculpture became more a matter of conventional definition and faithful execution than of spontaneous creation.[1] It is but natural that under the restrictions of these Śilpa texts the sculptor had very limited scope for his spontaneity and originality.

Looking at the sculpture of the period under review all the tendencies, described above are easily discernable. The elaborate ornamentation found on the doorways at Tumān,[2] Ratanpur[3] Pālī,[4] Nārāyanpur[5], and Jānjgir[6] follows a systematic plan, so far as the execution of figures is concerned. The doorway consists of two carved jambs and a carved lintel. Again, two side-jambs are found on each side and all the four outer, which form two similar door-frames are again superimposed by two-architraves. In this way, the doorway becomes a composite form of three door-frames, one above the other. The entire doorway is further supported by two side pilasters. The unfinished temple of Vishṇu at Jānjgir has a double number of side pilasters. The doorway and side-pilasters are exequisitely carved and profusely sculp-

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1. Majumdar, M.R.: Rūpamaṇḍana and the Uncommon Forms of Vishṇu, I.H.Q., Vol. XVI, 1940, p. 309.
2. Photograph No. 1.
3. Photograph No. 24.
4. Photograph opposite p.323, Mirashi's Paper published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939.
5. Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1930-34, p.141, Pl.LXXVIII,(a).
6. Photograph No. 36.

tured. The doorway lintel in all the temples has three niches, superimposed by small śikhara design formed by horizontal bands, the upper-most being the smallest, presenting the idea of an āmalaka. The śikhara-design seems to be a replacement of the chaitya-window, which is in the centre of the doorway lintel of the Śiva temple at Bhumarā.[1] This feature of Śikhara design is not found on the doorways of Ratanpur, Jānjgir and Nārāyanpur temples. But the Śiva temple at Pālī has a different Śikhara design above the doorway lintel. There the upper design is shaped like a small door-frame. It leaves cavity in the centre instead of being a solid mass formed out of horizontal bands as in the former case. The latter design has a small linga inside the open space and thus confirms the idea of a perfect shrine.[2]

The three niches carved in the door-way-lintel invariably have the images of three principal deites. The presiding deity of the temple, Śiva[3] or Vishṇu[4] as the case may be, always occupies the centre. In Gupta times, the doorway lintel was adorned by the image of the presiding deity alone in the centre.[5] The presentation of the three principal dieties together seems to have been a later idea in this region. The Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur, which is an earlier monument than the Kalachuri temples,

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1. Banerji, MASI, No.16, Pl.III.
2. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939, Photograph, Opposite page 323.
3. Tumān, Ratanpur, Pālī and Small temple of Śiva at Jānjgir.
4. Unfinished temple of Vishṇu at Jānjgir.
5. Banerji, MASI, No.16, Pl.III.
6. Raipur District Gazetteer, Photograph Opposite p.344.

has only the presiding deity i.e. Śêshaśāyī Vishṇu on its doorway lintel. The Virāṭêśvara temple at Sôhāgpur,[1] which belongs to the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, has also Śiva, as the central figure over the doorway. Brahmā with Sarasvatī is on one side and Vishṇu with Lakshmī is on the other. Prof. R.D.Banerji could not identify the presiding deity over the doorway, which is 'an eight armed male, holding in his right hands a trident, a mālā, a figure like an hour-glass with a noose and one hand is empty; in his left he holds a sword, a skull fixed on a pole and one empty.' The image thus described may be of Jñāna-Yôgêśvara Śiva, in which the god is always represented with four or eight arms.[3] The Chandella temples, also contain the figures of the three principal deities over the doorway.[4]

Śiva, among the three principal deities, on the doorway lintels of the Kalachuri temples of Ratanpur is found either in his tāṇḍava posture[5] or in the Jñāna-Yôgêśvara-mudrā.[6] Brahmā is every where seen in ardha-yôgāsana,[7] sometimes with haṁsa by his side.[8] Vishṇu sometimes is riding on his Garuḍa,[9] while in other cases, he is also depicted as Yôga-nārāyana.[10]

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.241.
2. Banerji: The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments, MASI, No.23, p.50.
3. Matsya Purāṇa, 259,13.
4. Cousens, PRAS, WC., 1903-04, p.16.
5. Tumān and Ratanpur doorways.
6. Pālī and Jānjgir.
7. Tumān, Pālī, Ratanpur and Jānjgir.
8. Tumān-doorway, Photograph No.3.
9. Ibid., Photograph No. 4.
10. Pali, Ratanpur and Jānjgir.

Dvārapaṭṭikā or the doorway lintel, similarly depicts navagrahas between the three principal niches. In all the temples, taken for the present study, they are represented in a row all sitting one after another and thus filling up the gap between the three niches. The representation of navagrahas in a row on the doorway lintel marks an essential difference between the representations of Navagrahas in North and South India.[1] In South India, these planets are never represented in a row as in the North. Similar representation of navagrahas is also found in the eastern provinces of India. Several such specimens can be seen in the Indian Museum[2], Calcutta and the Rājshāhi Museum.[3]

The doorway, which consists of carved door-jambs always depicts Gaṅgā and Yamunā at the base of the inner jambs. The goddesses stand on their vāhanas, the Makara and the tortoise to the right and to the left of the entrance respectively. They hold Kalaśas in their upper hands.[4] The depiction of the river-goddesses frequently occurs in Gupta and mediaeval sculptures and the concept of these deities is represented at Mathura and Amaravati.[5] Others think that the two river goddesses in this position may have

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1. C.Sivaramamurti, Ancient India, No.6, p.35.

2. Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological collection in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1911, p.83.

3. Catalogue of the Archaeological relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rājshāhi, 1919, pp.25-26.

4. Tumān doorway, see Photograph No. 1

5. Sivaramamurti, Ancient India, No.6, p.28, Figure 14.

been derived from the śālabhañjikā figures which festooned the architraves of Buddhist tôraṇas.[1] In the Gupta temple of Bhumarā, river-goddesses are attended by a female and a male attendants on either side of the doorway.[2] The male attendants hold umbrella over the goddesses, while the female ones hold a tray in one of their hands.[3] In the Kalachuri temples of Chhattisgarh, river-goddesses, instead of having these attendants, are attended to by one[4] or two male-gods.[5] These male-gods are depicted in some form of Śiva or Vishṇu according to the presiding deity of the temple.[6] In an earlier temple of Kharod[7], the goddesses are not attended to by dvārapālas or any other male-gods.

The space between the goddesses and the door-way-lintel is usually divided into a number of bands, each containing a niche in it. This portion of the jamb over the figures of river-goddesses depicts daśāvatāras of Vishṇu,[8] Saptamātṛikās[9] or other dêvatās.[10] The carving of this space with such figures is also noticeable in the Gupta temples at Bhumarā[11] and Deogarh.[12]

The architrave above the doorway-lintel, which marks

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1. Agrawala, V.S.: Gupta Art, p.22; Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Vol.I, p.55.
2. Banerji, MASI, No.16, p.4.
3. Ibid., Pl. III.
4. Tumān doorway.
5. Pāli, Jānjgir and Śeòrīnārāyan temples.
6. According to Rūpamandana, II, 13-17; III, 65-70; IV, 102-107, the dvārapālas are recognised by their weapons. The attending deities in the Kalachuri temples of Dakshiṇa Kosala are, however, recognised by their āyudhas.
7. Bilaspur District Gazetteer, Photograph Opposite page 73.
8. Hiralal, I.A., Vol.LIII, (1924), pp.267 ff.
9. Cousens, PRAS. WC., 1903-04, p.28.
10. Temples of Śiva and Vishṇu at Jānjgir.
11. Banerji, MASI, No.16, Pl.III.
12. ASIR, Vol.X, Pl.XXXVI.

upper-most part of the three niches, contains the figures of mālādhārī ganas. These figures are depicted in the flying posture and also in a row. Such flying figures are similarly found on the Śiva temple at Bhumarā[1], and Nachnā[2], and a sculpture is known from Sondani near Gwalior[3]. These figures are, however, absent on the Deogarh temple. It seems that this was not a regular feature of all the Gupta temples. Among the Kalachuri temples of Chhattisgarh, this feature is found on the Tumān-doorway and nowhere else.

Doorways of the earlier Kalachuri temples[4] of Chhattisgarh, which seem to be the direct descendants of the Gupta temples, are comparatively less ornamented with figures than the later temples at Pālī and Jānjgir. The outer jambs of the Tumān doorway[5] and the inner edge of the Ratanpur door-frame[6] are decorated with rich arabesque designs. Similar designs are also seen on the door-jambs of the Gupta temples at Bhumarā[7], Nachnā[8] and Deograh.[9] The later temples at Pālī and Jānjgir have more details of ornamentation than those found on the earlier temples. The side-pilasters of these temples are divided into many vertical bands, each decorated with animal or human figures. The three lower-most and the upper-most bands of the doorway pilasters of Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir are decorated with elephants, lions and geese,

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1. Banerji, MASI, No.16, p.5, Pl.III.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol. XXI, pp.95-99.
3. K.de B.Codrington, The Art of India and Pakistan, London, 1949, p.51.
4. Tumān and Ratanpur doorways.
5. Photograph No. 1.
6. PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.28.
7. Banerji, MASI, 16, Pl III & IV.
8. A.S.I.R., Vol. XXI, pp. 95-99.
9. Agrawal, V.S.: Gupta Art, Pl.XVII

which form the animal 'tharas' almost running round the outer walls of the temple. The intermediary space of these 'tharas' consisting of similar bands contain seated dwarfish figures either the pramathas or the Kubêras. Similar figures are also seen on the Śiva temple at Jānjgir. Figures of dwarfs or gaṇas are also seen on the Gupta and Chālukyan temples at Bhumarā[1], Nachnā[2] Ḍeogarh[3] and Bādāmī.[4] The top-most frieze on the eastern view of the Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir contains the figures of gandharvas and apsarās playing on musical instruments. Similar figures also occur on the Śiva temple at Nārāyanpur.[5]

Besides the front view of a Kalachuri temple, the remaining outer walls are profusely sculptured. The Vimāna of the temple, starts from its basement with deep mouldings, running like string-courses all round the temple. The middle part of every view is invariably adorned by exquisitely carved statues running into two parallel tiers alround the temple, except the front view. This system indispensably occurs on all the Kalachuri temples.[6]

It is suggested that the sculptures found on the exterior walls of these temples 'appear to have been an adaptation of the stūpa decoration having four Buddha figures all round',[7] which is seen on the Buddhist monuments at Sārnāth[8], Amrāvatī[9] and Sānchī.[10]

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1. Banerji, MASI, No. 16, Pls. IX, X & XI.
2. A.S.I.R., Vol.XXI, pp.95-99.
3. Agarwal, V.S.: Gupta Art, Pl.XVII.
4. Banerji, Base-reliefs of Bādāmī, MASI, No.25, Pl.VII.
5. Annual Report of A.S.I., 1930-34, Pl.LXXVIII.
6. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, Pl.XVIII.
7. Agrawal, V.S.: Gupta Art, p.23.
8. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1891, p.67.
9. Ibid., p.72, Figure 17.
10. Ibid., p.64.

The Sculptures, depicted on the outer walls of the Kalachuri temples, belong to Śaiva and Vaishṇava pantheons. Two parallel rows of panels depict Śiva in tāṇḍava dance, Kārttikêya, Sūrya, SarasvatI[1], Gaṇêśa and Brahmā[2] in the principal niches in both the temples, dedicated to Śiva, at Pāli and Jānjgir. The niches between the main panels contain mithunas or amorous couples and the lion above the elephant or gaja-śārdūla motif.

The representation of the amorous couples on the temple walls is a much debtated point. These figures are generally found on all the mediaeval temples of central India, the principal among them being the Khajurāhô[3] group of temples. These sculptures bear 'very gross obscenities' according to foreign critics[4], and offend their taste of civility.

In fact, these figures are carved on the walls of temples as a fixed rule of Indian architecture.[5] Besides, having a philosophical background behind this particular symbol of Indian art, its association with Indian sculpture can be tracedback to Buddhist architecture.[6] The representation of Mithuna sculpture in the temple-architecture is mentioned in the Bṛihat

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1. PālI temple.
2. Jānjgir temple of Śiva.
3. A.S.I.R., Vol. II, p.420.
4. Ibid., Vol. VII, p.242.
5. T.Bhattacharya, 'Some Notes on Mithuna in Indian Art, Rūpam, 1926, p.22 ff.
6. Marshall-Foucher, ' The Monuments of Sanchi, Vol.I, pp.246-47. Vol. III, Pl. LXXVII. 20a.

Saṁhitā[1], Agnipurāṇa[2] and Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra.[3] Some texts further suggest that these figures were carved in order to save the temple from the effect of lightning and similar calamities.[4]

Recently the problem of the erotic scenes at Khajurāhô has been studied by some scholars. One view ascribes them to the influence of Kaula Kāpālika cults.[5] Another view considers them to be the realistic representations of contemporary life.[6] Both the suggestions may be partially accepted. But it is difficult to make them a general rule and also to apply them to every part of India. The study of the Kalachuri art of Dakshiṇa Kosala, on the other hand, suggests that these amorous couples were depicted merely to follow the architectural conventions of the age. The influence of Kaula Kāpālika cults on the contemporary religion appears to have been insignificant. Similarly the study of Indian history makes one convinced by the fact that our society, at no time, was in such a perverted and decaying condition, as pointed out by these scholars referred to above. Hence no satisfactory explanation of this problem has been possible out of these suggestions.

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1. मिथुनै: पत्रवल्लीभि: प्रमथैश्चोपशोभयेत् ।
   -Brihat-Saṁhitā, LVI, 15.

2. अध: शाखा चतुर्थांशे प्रतिहारौ निवेशयेत् ।
   मिथुनै: पादवर्णाभि: शाखांशेषं विभूषयेत् ॥
   -Agni Purāṇa, 104,30

3. XL. 30-34.

4. वज्रपातादिभीत्यादि वारणार्थं यथोदितम् ।
   शिल्पशास्त्रेऽपि मण्यादिविन्यास पौरुषाकृतिम् ॥
   - Utkala Khaṇḍa, 11.

5. Pramod Chandra, ' Kaula Kāpālika Cults at Khajurāhô', Lalita Kalā, Vols. I-II, pp.98-107.

6. Tripathi, Lakshmi Kant, ' The Erotic Scenes of Khajurāhô and Their probable Explanation', Bhāratī, No.3, B.H.U., 1959-60, pp,82-104.

Similarly the lion or the '<u>śārdūla</u>' figures also appear on the Pallava, the Chālukyan, the Chandella, the Hoyasala and the Orissan temples.[1] Its association with elephant is also known from the Aśokan times.[2] In the Kalachuri temples, the lion is generally riding on the elephant and a female figure is always standing before these animals.[3] The <u>Gaja-śārdūla</u> symbol found on the coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have some affinity with these images. But the real significance of this representation in mediaeval art , is not, yet, clearly explained by any texts. The lion above the elephant is also found on the Orissan and the Khajurāhô temples.[4] In the Maithila poems of Vidyāpati, the upper part of a woman is compared with a lion while her legs resemble the elephant.[5] The <u>Gaja-śārdūla</u> sculpture along with the female figure may have been a representation of this idea which might have also occurred in some earlier works.

The Vishṇu temple at Jānjgir, in the same way, contains the sculptures of Vishṇu, Narasiṁha and Varāha <u>avatāras</u> and also of Sūrya in the central niches of the outer walls. The side panels contain other images. Among them the sculptures of the dancing

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1. Stella Kramrisch - <u>The Hindu Temple</u>, Vol.II, p.333, fn.107-8.
2. Percy Brown, <u>Indian Architecture</u>, Vol.I, p.12, Pl.V.
3. Tumān, Ratanpur and Pālī temples. Photograph No.31.
4. Stella Kramrisch, <u>The Hindu Temple</u>, Vol.II, p.336-37, fn. 122.
5. पल्लव राजचरन-जुगसोभित गति गजराज क मानै ।
   कनक कदलि पर सिंह समारल ता पर मेरु समानै ॥ ४ ॥
   - बसंतकुमार , <u>विद्यापति की पदावली</u> , पृ० २१

apsarās[1], the rishis[2] and of the Nāgarāja are executed with a great skill. The pedestals of these images are supported by the ganas. The Gana is a peculiar feature of the Chedi school of sculpture.[3] Ganas at the base of pillars and panels, although not so clear, are found in Gupta[4] and Chālukyan monuments.[5] Gana figures in dancing and sitting postures have also been noticed at some Gupta sites near Bhumarā in Central India.[6] But the Gana supporting the pedestal of an image is a feature that invariably occurs in the Kalachuri temples at Pālī, Jānjgir, Nārāyanpur and Kotgaṭh.[7] On the outer walls of the Śiva temple at Pālī, the Gana[8] is also shown emerging from the wall above the carved friezes. Its hands hold aloft a chariot. On the Jānjgir temple its counterpart seems to be a Kīrttimukha on each wall. Kīrtti-mukhas are also seen on the panels of the Gupta temple of Bhumarā.[9] They are generally placed at the pinnacle of the Śukanāsa of the Śikhara, below which the images are seen.[10]

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1. The Hindu Temple, Vol.II, Pl.XL, p.388.
2. Ibid., Vol.II, Pl.XLI, p.388.
3. Ibid., Vol. II, p.388, Pl.XXXIX.
4. Banerji, MASI, No.16, Pl.VI(a).
5. Banerji, MASI, No.25, Pl. XX(a)
6. Bajpai, K.D.: ' Some Interesting Gana Figures from Pannā', Published in Lalita Kalā, Vol. IX, 1961.
7. The present writer has been a Gana figure belonging to the temple of Bêvanta, on the Southern wall of the Siddhêshwar temple at Akaltarā.
8. Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Vol. II, Pl.XI.
9. Banerji, MASI, No.16, Pl. IX & X.
10. The Hindu Temple, Vol.II, p. 330.

Unfortunately, we have no idea of the position of sculpture in the maṇḍapa of a Kalachuri temple. The only example of a maṇḍapa, which is known to us, is in the renovated form in the Śiva temple at Pāli. No images are found on the exterior of the maṇḍapa, because it is reconstructed in the modern times. Additional pillars added in front of the sanctum entrance contain two standing male figures. Ceiling of the mahāmaṇḍapa consists of 'courses of concentric fretted circles, each smaller than the next lower course until at the top one small circle with a pendant closes the opening'.[1] Each tier of the overlapping courses of the dome is richly fretted and coved, the whole arrangement forms a hemisphere of semi-circularly hollowed niches, which enshrine figures of seated devotees. The lowest course contains a number of figures in various attitudes, and 'running into each other in happy confusion.'[2] Below this is the octagon ornamented by the usual geometric patterns and lotus leaves.

Similarly the roof of the sanctum is circular, formed of overlapping courses. The pilasters are carved and ornamented.

Among loose sculptures, found in the vicinity, the sculptures of Kalyāṇasundara, Umā-Maheśvara, Rāvaṇānugraha, Kārttikēya, Vishṇu, Lakshmī, Sūrya, Sarasvatī and devotees are worth-noting. Panels of Umā-Maheśvara are very common in this area. This type was popular all over the country during 10th to 12th centuries A.D. Sculptures of this type have been found in Western India,[3] Eastern part,[4] Central India[5] and in South.[6]

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1. A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.217.
2. Ibid., Vol.VII, p.217.
3. K.de B.Codrington- Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, p.28, Pl.8.
4. Banerji: Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, pp. 111-112, Pls. LIV(d) and LV(a), (b) and (d)
5. Banerji: MASI, No.23, p.108, Pl.L(a).
6. Sivaramamurti: Ancient India, No. 6, p. 58, Pl.XXIII(b).

Lastly some of the pieces of Kalachuri art, noticed at various places of Chhattisgarh, are summarized as under:-

1. Umā- Mahêśvara [1]: Sandstone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur District. 11th century A.D.

Śiva is seated in Lalitāsana, with right leg pendant. Umā sits on his left thigh and her left leg is likewise pendant. Both, Śiva and Umā, are four armed. Śiva holds in his upper right hand, a trident(triśūla), in the lower right hand, an unidentified object, probably a lotus(padma); the upper left hand is not visible and his lower left hand rests on the breast of the goddess. Umā's two right arms are not seen. In her upper left hand, she holds a mirror (darpaṇa) and the lower left hand is placed on her left leg. She is gazing at Śiva's face.

Śiva has his hair matted and dressed high(jaṭā-mukuṭa), and he wears beaded necklace, bracelets and anklets. The goddess similarly wears a jewelled crown, ear-rings, beaded necklace, armlets, bangles and anklets. In fact, the whole set of jewellery seems to be conventional and it is invariably found on other images in the usual form.

Baby Gaṇêśa is shown below. Śiva's bull Nandi and Umā's vāhana, Siṁha, are carved in relief on the pedestal. A Śiva-gaṇa, holding a club, is also seen between the two animals.

The Umā-Mahêśvara form is the one most commonly met with in Chhattisgarh. These images follow the directions given by the Śilpa texts[2], such as Matsya Purāṇa[3] and

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1. Photograph No. 84.
2. Bhattacharya, B.C.:-Indian Images, p.21.
3. Mat., Chapter 260, Ślokas 11-20.

Aparājitapṛichchhā.[1] None of the images in this form is similar to illustrations given by Rao.[2]

2. Worshipper]: Sandstone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur District. 11th century A.D.

A male figure is seated cross-legged (in padmāsana) having both hands joined for upāsanā. The worshipper holds a lotus flower between his palms. Two female figures are seated each on either side of him. Their outer legs are placed on the heads of two female devotees. The female figures have similarly their hands joined and they also hold lotus flowers between the palms as if making the offering. All the three figures wear conventional jewellery. The male figure is bearded and a halo( prabhā-mandala) surrounds his head.

The relief of the base has two lions in outer bands. Two vidyādharas are seated in the centre.

3. The Inscribed Image of Bhaṭṭa Vallāla and his wife, Tīlha.[4] Sandstone. From Bilaspur. 11th century A.D.

This is a relief carving of a male and a female figure seated side by side. The bearded male-figure is seated in padmāsana, with folded hands, holding lotus flower between his palms. His wife is seated to his left. She too holds a padma between her palms. Both figures are wearing usual jewellery. In the upper corners, on each side, there is one apsarā and a gandharva, both holding garlands. A canopy or chhatra is spread over the head of male-figure. A female attendant (Chāmaradhāriṇī) is also shown standing to the right of the

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1. Aparājitapṛichchhā, Chapter 273, Slokas 25-27.
2. Rao, T.A.G.:- Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.II, Part I, Plates XXIII to XXIX.
3. Photograph No. 85.
4. Photograph No. 86.

male figure.

The relief of the base includes lions in the outer bands and the liṅga and Śaṅkha like objects in the centre. The pedestal below the male figure, bears an inscription - "Bhattaśrī Vallalasya mūrtirêshā virājatè tasya vadhū Tīlha sahitā vabhūva." The statue is said to have been brought from Ratanpur.

4. The Inscribed Image of Nārāyaṇa, the son of Lêkhnàdhyaksha Paṇḍita Madhavāksha of Ratnapura.[1] Sandstone. From Amarakaṇṭaka. 12th century A.D.

The male figure is seated in padmāsana with both hands joined for upāsanā and holding a lotus flower between the palms. On either side of him stands a chāmaradhāriṇī, with a fly-whisk(chāmara) in her right hand. Above chāmaradhāriṇīs are seen two gandharvas, each on either side, carrying garlands. On the head of the male figure, there is a chhatra. The figure is elaborately ornamented with coronets and other jewellery.

The pedestal of the statue has a four-line inscription. It records that the statue is an exact representation of Nārāyaṇa, the son of Paṇḍita Mādhavāksha, who was the Superintendent of Writing at Ratnapura. The record is dated in K.E. 922.

5. Jaina Tīrthaṅkara[2]; Sandstone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur District. 11th century A.D.

The figure is seated in padmāsana with hands in dhyāna mudrā .The hair is dressed in the conventional close-

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1. Photograph No. 87.

2. Photograph No. 88.

curls. Śrīvatsa- symbol is shown on the chest. Behind his head, there is a nimbus and above it is a chhatra , the exteriors of which have a gandharva and an apsarā, carrying garlands, on each side. These figures are surmounted by running elephants.

The main figure has one male attendant(chaurī-bearer) on each side, who wears coronets and other jewellery.

On the pedestal are shown the mutilated figures of two lions in sitting postures.

6. Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.[1] Sandstone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur district. 12th century A.D.

The figure stands in the kāyôtsarga mudrā, with his long hanging arms touching the knees. The śrīvatsa symbol is not seen, as the stone near the chest has been peeled off. His hair is closely curled and above there is a chhatra, the exteriors of which have the seated apsarā and gandharva , carrying garlands on each side.

The Jina is attended by two chaurī-bearers, and below them, to the right, there is a seated image of some yaksha, probably Gômêdha. On the opposite side, there is a figure of Ambikā, seated on a lion and holding a child in her lap. The pedestal bearing the symbol of the Jina is broken. But the figure appears to have been the Jina Nêminātha.

7. Kalyāṇasundara Śiva.[2] Sandstone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur district. Circa 900 A.D.

The oldest image of Śiva found at Ratanpur is a panel, which depicts the scene of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī. Śiva holding the right hand of Pārvatī stands in the

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1. Photograph No. 89.

2. Photograph No. 90.

centre. To the left of the figure of Śiva, stands Pārvatī, with her right arm stretched out to receive that of Śiva, in the ceremony of Pāṇigrahaṇa. The god has Jaṭāmukuṭa and four arms. The upper right hand holds the trident; the upper left arm is placed round the shoulder of Pārvatī and the lower left arm is not visible. Pārvatī's left arm is broken. She wears a coronet. Both, Śiva and Pārvatī, wear conventional jewellery. Their lower garments are also shown. Pārvatī is attended by her three maids.

To the right of Śiva, the bearded Brahmā, seated on his asana, officiates with the sacred fire. The fire is burning in a cup(i.e. Kuṇḍa) placed in front of him. Near the kuṇḍa, is shown the face of Nandi. Surrounding the sacred fire are standing or sitting male and female figures, who may be identified with the bride's father, Himavant and mother, Mênā, gods and goddesses and some attendants.

Śiva wears umbrella above his head. The whole assembly of gods is depicted in the sky above.

The illustration, thus, nearly conforms to the description, given in the Śilpa texts.[1] This form is common all over the country in the early mediaeval times. Sculptures of this type have been found at Elephanta,[2] Ellora,[3] Badami,[4]

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1. Śrīkumāra: Śilparatna, Part II, Chapter 22, Ślokas 90-102, pp.110-11.

2. Banerjea, J.N.: The Development of Hindu Iconography, p.485.

3. Ibid., p.485, Plate XXXVIII, Fig.1.

4. Banerji, R.D.: M.A.S.I., No.25, p.10, Pl.IVa.

Gurgi[1] in Rewa District of Madhya Pradesh, Kanauj[2], in Bengal[3] and also in South.[4]

8. Umā-Mahêśvara[5]: Black stone. From Ratanpur, Bilaspur district. 11th century A.D.

Representation is similar to that of Panel No. 1. Size of the panel in this case is bigger than the former one. Nimbus behind the heads of the god and the goddess, and the upraised right hand of the goddess are the additional features. The darpana, held by goddess, has five-hooded snake - ornamentation.

9. Kārttikêya[6]: Blackstone. From Gomri in Bilaspur district. 11th century A.D.

The god stands on a lotus-pedestal. He is six-faced and twelve-armed; four faces are shown on the panel, while the other two are left for the back side. He holds in his right hands, the arrow(śara), śakti, rosary(akshasūtra) and other objects, which are not clear. He feeds the peacock with

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1. Banerji, R.D.: M.A.S.I., No. 23, p.75, Pl.XXV-XXVI.
2. Bajpai, K.D.: 'Kanauj-A Great Centre of Early Mediaeval Art,' Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. IX, 1953, p.106, Pl.XXIII.
3. Bhattasali, Nalini Kanta: Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures In the Dacca Museum, pp.120-123, Pl.XLVIII.
4. Sivaramamurti, Ancient India, No.6, p.57, Pl.XXIB.
5. Photograph No. 91.
6. Photograph No. 92.

one of his right hands. In his left hands, the god holds the shield(khêṭa), flag (patākā), bow (dhanu) and the cock (kukkuṭa). Other objects are not clear. He wears a jewelled crown, a beaded necklace with a pendant, circular ear-rings, armlets, bracelets and anklets. The girdle and hārāvalī cover the body below the waist and above the knees.

Peacock(mayūra), the vāhana of Kārttikêya, stands to his right. A gaṇa is looking forward behind the peacock. A kneeling apsarā and a sitting ṛishi fill up the corresponding space on the left.

The iconographic details of the deity, in this way, are similar to those discussed in the śilpa-texts.[1]

10. Chāmaradhāriṇī:[2] Black stone. From Ratanpur in Bilaspur district. 11th- 12th cent. A.D.

The figure, carved in a pilaster, stands on its lotus-pedestal. She holds a fly-whisk (chāmara) in the right hand and a lotus-plant in her left hand. The body is bent in the tribhaṅga pose. She wears usual jewellery. On the right side, the pilaster is decorated with the vyālaka-motif.

11. Inscribed Image of Vishṇu[3]: Black stone. From Ratanpur, in Bilaspur district. 11th-12th Cent. A.D.

The figure stands on a pedestal. The god holds in his upper left hand, the chakra and in the lower left hand, the gadā. His two right arms are missing. This representation perhaps depicts Vishṇu in his Kêśava or Padmanābha form.[4] The figure is

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1. Śrī Bhôja: Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Vol.II, Chapter 77, Ślokas 23-34, pp. 272-73;
Bhuvanadeva: Aparājitapṛichchhā, Chapter 212, Ślokas 40-42, p.542.
2. Photograph No.93.
3. Photograph No.94.
4. Rūpamaṇḍana, quoted by T.A.Gopinatha Rao in Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.I, Part I, pp.229-30;
Aparājitapṛichchhā, Chapter 217, Ślokas 16 & 22, pp.553-54.

elaborately ornamented with conventional jewellery and a long garland(vanamālā). A nimbus is depicted behind the head. On both sides of the god and at his feet are shown sitting devotees in añjali-mudrā. The pedestal has the sitting goddess(Lakshmī) in the centre and three sitting devotees in añjali-mudrā on her both sides. The outer figures of the panel represent the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. The base of the pedestal bears a Brāhmī inscription in one line.

12. Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha[1]: Black stone. From Ratanpur in Bilaspur district. 11th-12th cent. A.D.

The figure is seated in padmāsana with hands in dhyāna mudrā. His hair is close-curled, hanging over the shoulders. The ears are extended but are devoid of ornaments. Śrīvatsa symbol is depicted on the chest. There is a nimbus behind his head, which is surmounted by a triple chhatra.

The Jina has two standing male-attendants(chauri-bearers), one on each side. They wear coronets and conventional jewellery. Above them are the flying apsarā and the gandharva, surmounted by a running elephant on each side.

The front of the base depicts the Kīrttimukha, emitting pearls, and below it the symbol of bull, being worshipped by a male and female devotee. On each side of this central seene, there is a sitting lion. The art of this panel is rather crude.

13. Tīrthaṅkara Chandraprabha[2]: Black stone. From Ratanpur in Bilaspur District. 11th-12th cent. A.D.

The figure is seated in padmāsana with hands in dhyāna-mudrā. The hair is represented by short curls. The ears

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1. Photograph No. 95.

2. Photograph No. 96.

are extended. Behind the head, there is a nimbus surmounted by a chhatra.

On both sides of the Jina, there stands a male - attendant ( chaurī-bearer ), wearing coronets and other jewellery. Above them are depicted a female and a male supporter of the chhatra on the right and the left of the main figure respectively. The top of the chhatra has two running elephants, each on either side of it.

The base of the pedestal depicts the Kīrttimukha, emitting pearls, and below it is the symbol of the crescent in the centre. On either side of it, a male and female devotee is sitting opposite to each other in the añjali-pose. The central scene is bracketted by lion-motif.

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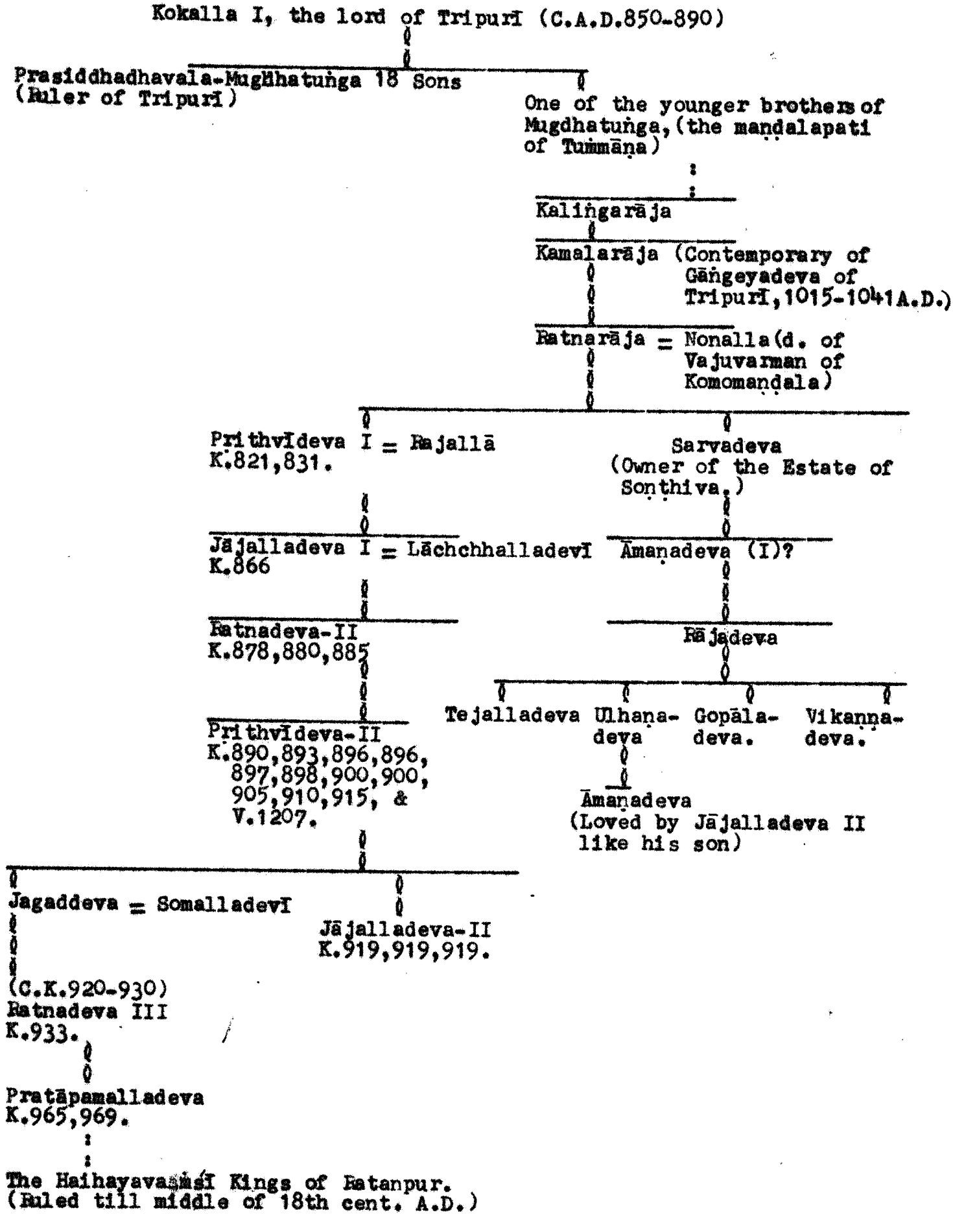
## APPENDIX 'A'

### Chronological And Genealogical Table



## APPENDIX 'B'

### Inscriptions of The Kalachuris of Ratanpur

1. Raipur Plate of Prithvīdeva I, K.E.821 (1069 A.D.) --
   Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy, for 1945-46,
   Appendix 'A', No.54;
   C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.398-401.

2. Amoda Plates of Prithvīdeva I, K.E.831 (1079 A.D.)--
   E.I., Vol. XIX, pp.75-81;
   Bhandarkar's List, No.2031;
   Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.199;
   C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.401-409.

3. Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I, K.E.866,
   (1114 A.D.)--
   E.I., Vol.I, pp.32-39;
   Bhandarkar's List, No.1230;
   Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.196;
   C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.409-417;

4. Seorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II, K.E.878 (1127 A.D.)--
   I.H.Q., Vol.IV, pp. 31-35;
   Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.212;
   C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.419-423.

5. Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II, K.E. 880, (1128 A.D.)--
   E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.159-167;
   Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.213;
   C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 423-429.

6. Pāragāon Plates of Ratnadeva II, K.E. 885, (1134 A.D.)--
   Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy for 1950-1951;
   C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.622-626.

7. Akaltara Stone Inscription of the time of Ratnadeva II--
PRAS., WC., 1903-04, pp.51-52;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1584;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.202;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 430-436.

8. Raipur Museum Stone Inscription of the time of Ratnadeva II--
PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.52, No.8;
I.A., Vol. XX, p.84;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1585;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.204;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.436-442.

9. Daikoni Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 890(1138 A.D.)--
E.I., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 146-154;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.443-446.

10. Kugda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 893,(1142 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol.VII, p.211;
I.A., Vol. XX, p.84;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1231;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 219;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.446-449.

11. Rajim Inscription of Jagapāladeva, of the time of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 896,(1145 A.D.)--
A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p. 18;
I.A., Vol. XVII, pp.135-140;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1132;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.178;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.450-457.

12. Bilaigaḍh Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 896,(1144-1145 A.D.)--
E.I., Vol. XXIX, pp.194-199;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.458-462.

13. Pāragāon Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 897(1146 A.D.) --
Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy for 1950-51;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.626-631.

14. Seorinarayan Image Inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 898( 1146 A.D.)--
A.S.I.R., Vol.IX, p.86; Ibid., Vol.XVII, Pl. XX;
PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.53;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1233;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 218;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.582-584.

15. Koni Inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 900,( 1148 A.D.) --
E.I., Vol. XXVII, pp.276-287;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.463-473.

16. Amoda Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E.900,(1149 A.D.) --
I.H.Q., Vol.I, pp.405ff;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1234;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 200;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.474-478.

17. Ratanpur Stone Inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdeva II, V.E. 1207, (1149-1150 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp.215ff;
J.A.S.B., Vol.XXXII, pp. 277-279 & 280-287;
Bhandarkar's List, No.421;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 197;
E.I., Vol. I, pp.45-52;

C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.483-490.

18. Amoda Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E.905,(1154 A.D.) --
I.H.Q., Vol. I, pp.405ff;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1236;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 200;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.491-495.

19. Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pṛithvīdeva II,
K.E. 910, ( 1158 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol.XVII, p.76, Pl. XX;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1239;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.225;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.495-501.

20. Ratanpur ( Bādal Mahāl ) Inscriptions of the Reign
of Pṛithvīdeva II, K.E. 915,( 1163-64 A.D.) --
Jenkins - Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, pp. 504-505;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1230;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.211;
E.I., Vol. XXVI, pp.255-267;
C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.501-511.

21. Mahāmadpur Inscription of the Kalachuri Kings of
Ratanpur --
P.R.A.S., WC., 1903-1904, p.50;
I.A., Vol. XX, p.85;
Bhandarkar's List, No.1585;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.205.

22. Mallār Stone Inscription of the time of Jājalladeva II,
K.E.919,(1167-1168 A.D.) --
E.I., Vol. I, pp.39ff;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1241;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 206;

C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 512-518.

23. Seorinarayan Inscription of the time of Jājalladeva II, K.E. 919,( 1167-68 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. XVII, Pl. XX;
PRAS., WC., 1903-04, pp.52-53;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1242;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 203;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 519-527.

24. Amoda Plates of Jājalladeva II, K.E.919,(1167 A.D.) --
E.I., Vol. XIX, pp.209ff;
Bhandarkar's List,No 2030;
Hiralal's Inscription,No.201;
C.I.I. Vol. IV, pp.528-533.

25. Amarakaṇṭaka Statue Inscription, K.E.922,(1070-71 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, pp.233ff;
PRAS., WC., 1920-21, p.55;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.586-587.

26. Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III, K.E. 933,(1181-82 A.D.) --
E.I., Vol.XXI, pp.159-165;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1249;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 198;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.533-543.

27. Sāhaspur Image Inscription of Yaśorāja, K.E.934, (1182 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. XVII, pp.42-44;
I.A., Vol. XVII, p.217;
Bhandarkar's List, No. 1250;
Hiralal's Inscriptions,No. 234;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.595-596.

28. Peṇḍrābandh Plates of Pratāpamalladeva, K.E.965, (1214 A.D.) ---

E.I., Vol. XXIII, pp.1-8;

C.I.I., Vol.IV, pp.543-549.

29. Bilaigadh Plates of Pratāpamalladeva, K.E.969, (1218 A.D.) --

E.I., Vol. XXIX, pp.97-104;

C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.549-554.

30. Pujāripāli Stone Inscription of Gopāladeva --

PRAS., WC., 1903-04,p.48;

Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.311;

C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.588-594.

Two Spurious Copper Plates of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur :

1. Lāphā Plates of Pṛithvīdeva I, Saṁvat 806 --

Bhandarkar's List, No.1224;

Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.223;

E.I., Vol. IX, pp.293ff.

2. Ghotiā Plates of Pṛithvīdeva II, Saṁvat 1000 --

Bhandarkar's List, No.1256;

Hiralal's Inscriptions, No. 195;

I.A., Vol. LIV, pp.44ff;

C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.478-483.

Inscriptions of the Haihayavaṁśī Kings of Ratanpur & Raipur:

1. Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Vāhara, V.E.1552, (1495-1496 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.216;
PRAS., WC., 1903-04, p.52;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.209;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.554-557.

2. Kosgain Stone Inscription of Vāharendra --
A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.214;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.210;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.557-563.

3. Kosgain Stone Inscription of Vāharendra, V.E. 1570, ( 1513 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. VII, p.214;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.210;
C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp.563-568.

4. Raipur Stone Inscription of Brahmadeva, V.E.1458, ( 1402 A.D.) --
A.S.I.R., Vol. XVII, p.77;
I.A., Vol. XXII, p.83;
Hiralal's Inscriptions, No.180;
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एवं श्यामसुन्दर दास बी०ए०
नागरी प्रचारिणी ग्रन्थमाला सीरीज नं० ४, बनारस, १९०४ ।

२ - परमाल रासो, सम्पादक-बाबू श्याम सुन्दर दास ।
नागरी प्रचारिणी ग्रन्थमाला सीरीज नं० २९
इण्डियन प्रेस, इलाहाबाद, संवत् १९७६ ।

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काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, तीसरा संस्करण, १९२९ ।

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काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, संवत् १९९६ ।

६ - श्री वसन्तकुमार मथुर : विद्यापति की पदावली,
भारती (भाषा ) भवन, दिल्ली, १९५२ ई० ।

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द्वितीय संस्करण, काशी, संवत् २००७ ।

## APPENDIX 'D'

## MAPS AND PLANS

**MAPS:**

1. Dakshiṇa Kosala - Rivers and Mountains.
2. India in Kalachuri Times.
3. Ratnapura Rājya.
4. Kalachuri Monuments of Chhattisgarh.

**PLANS:**

1. Plan of Doorway at Tumān.
2. Plan of Śiva Temple at Pāli.
3. Plan of Śiva Temple at Jānjgir.
4. Plan of Large Vishṇu Temple at Jānjgir.
5. Plan of Śiva Temple at Nārāyaṇapura.

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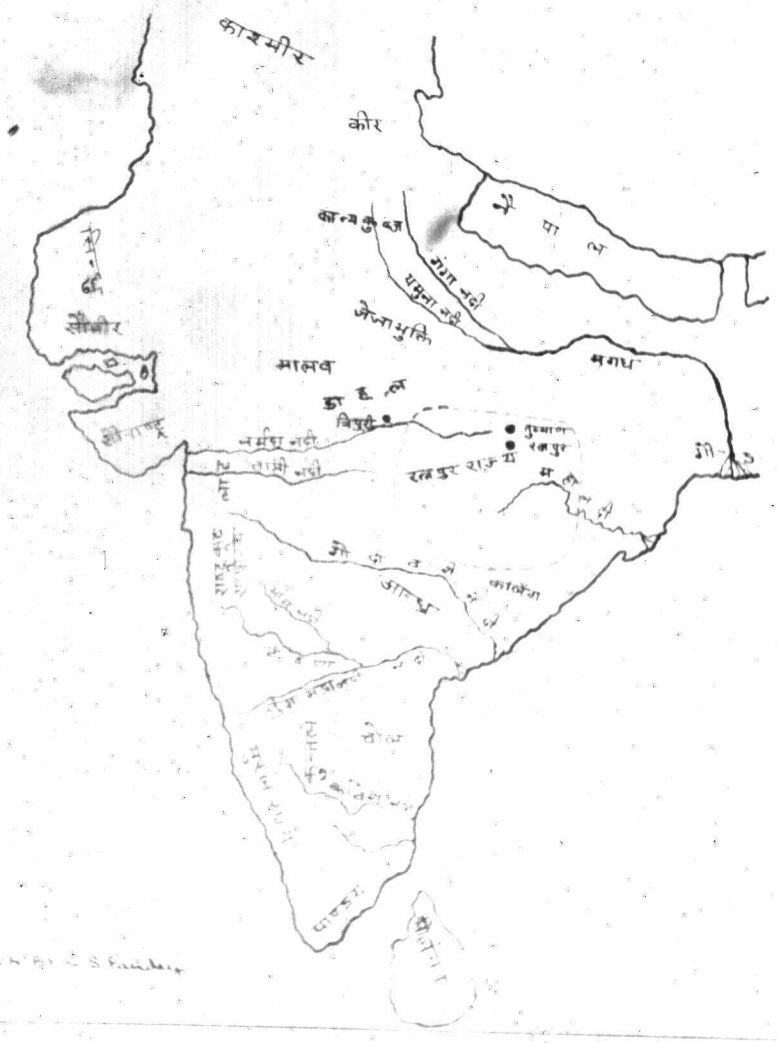
DAKSHIṆA- KOSALA
MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS
SCALE 1" = 16 MILES
RIKSHA PARVATA
VINDHYA PARVATA
JUBBULPORE
TRIPURI
NARMADĀ
AMARKANṬAKA
TUMMĀNA
PĀLI
RATANPUR
ARPA (KRIPĀ)
HASDO
MAND (MANDAGĀ)
SAKRI (ŚAKRULI)
MAHĀNADĪ
ŚRĪPURA
SAMBALPUR
SUVARṆAPURA
SUKTEL
SHIVANATHA (SŪNI)
KHARUN
TEL (TELA)
SUKTIMAT PARVATA
(VENUGANGĀ)
MAHENDRA PARVATA

# INDIA IN KALACHURI TIMES

SCALE 1" = 200 MILES

0 100 200 300 400 500 600




DRAWN BY C S Pandey

# KALACHURI MONUMENTS OF CHHATTISGARH

SCALE 1" INCH = 20 MILES.

DHANPUR
SURGUJA
AMARKANTAK
TUMAN
LAPHAGARH
DALI
RATANPUR
ARPA RIVER
KARAN RIVER
HASDO RIVER
RAIGARH
PANDATARAI
SENDRI
BALODA
KATGARH
SARKHO
BAMHANI
SONTHI
MAHAMADPUR
BILASPUR
AKALTARA
ADBHAR
KONI
JANJGIR
JAIJAIPUR
MALLAR
KHAROD
SEORINARAYAN
SEONATH RIVER
MAHANADI RIVER
BILAIGARH
SARANGARH
NARAYANPUR
DURG
KHARUN RIVER
CHICHOLI
SIRPUR
RAIPUR
KHALARI
RAJIM
PAIRI RIVER
NORTH
EAST
WEST
SOUTH
KANKER
SIHAWA
MACHKA
KANDADONGAR

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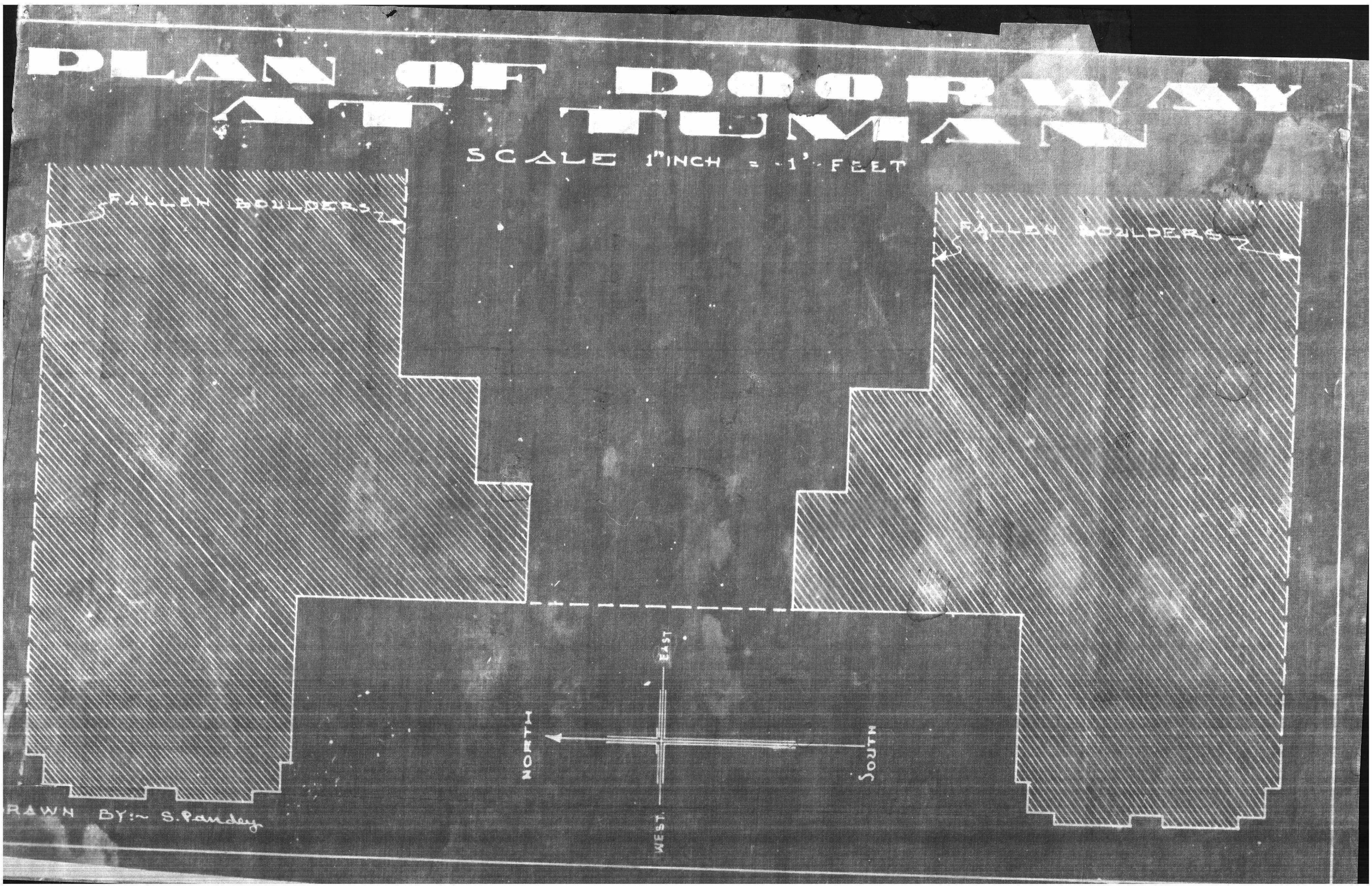
|---|---|
| | TEMPLE |
| | MONASTERY |
| | TANK |
| | STEP WELL |
| + | OTHER BUILDINGS |

DRAWN BY :- S. Pa[illegible]

# PLAN OF DOORWAY AT TUMAN

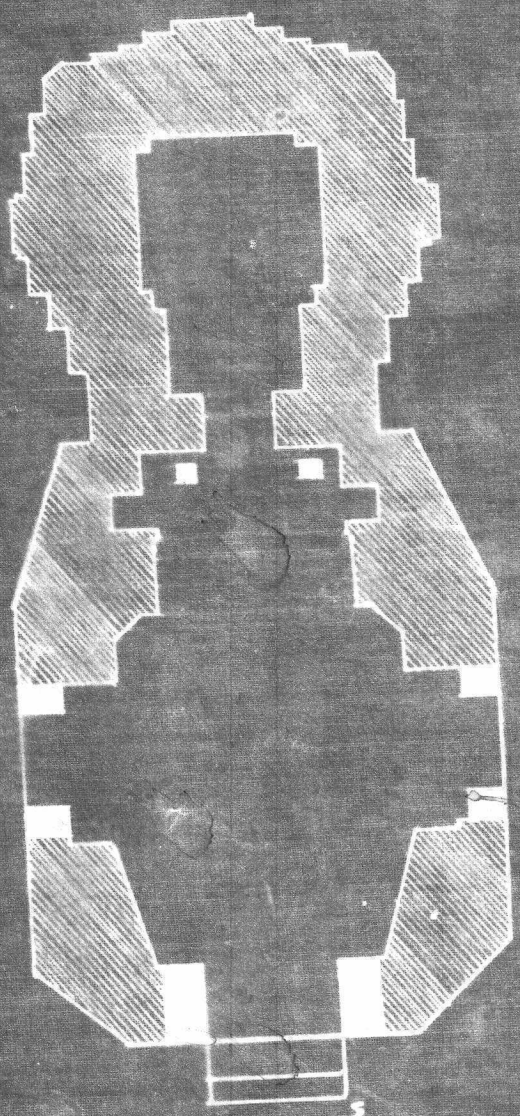
SCALE 1" INCH = 1' FEET




DRAWN BY:~ S. Pandey

# PLAN OF SIVA TEMPLE AT PALI

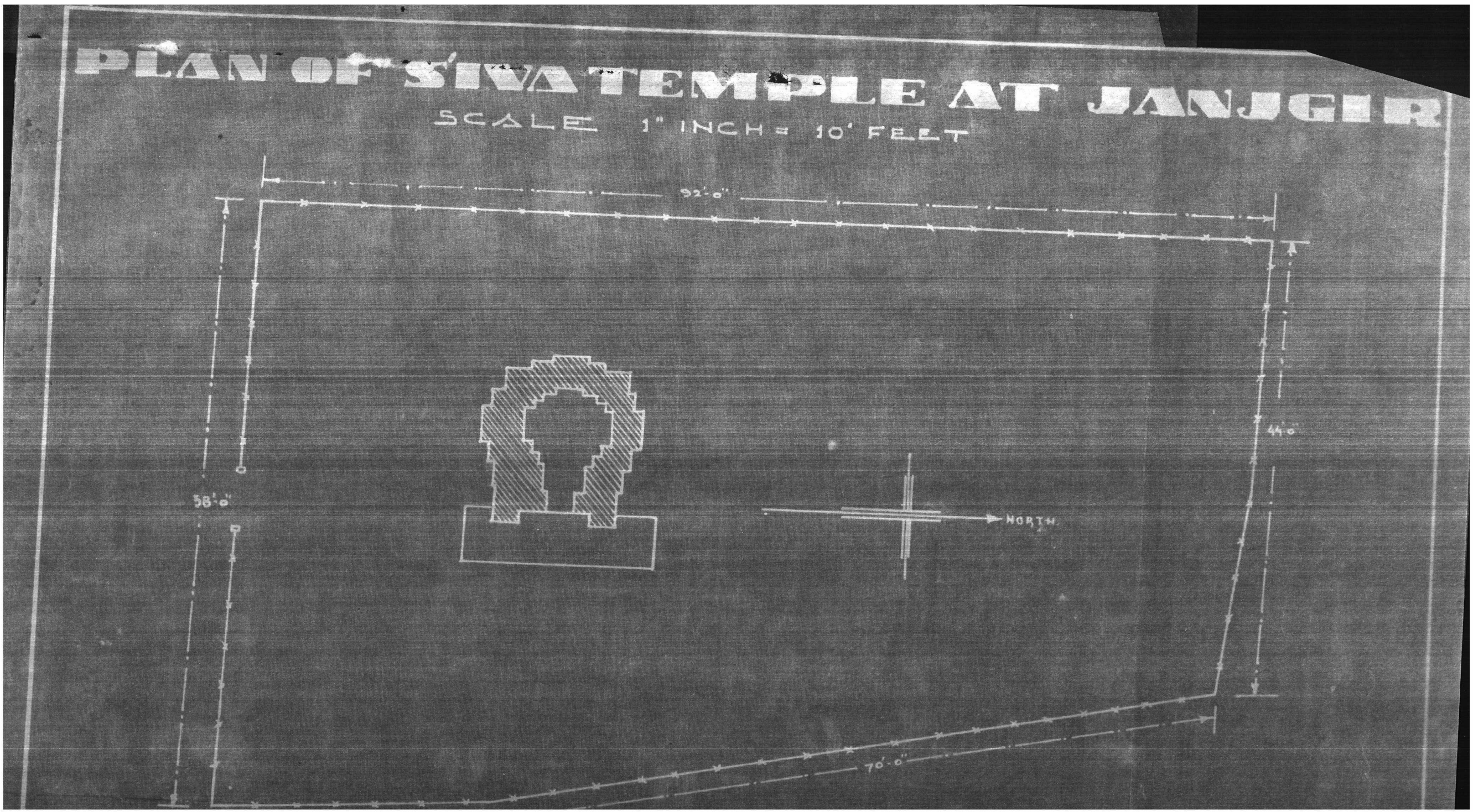
SCALE 1" INCH = 8' FEET.




DRAWN BY:- S. Pandey

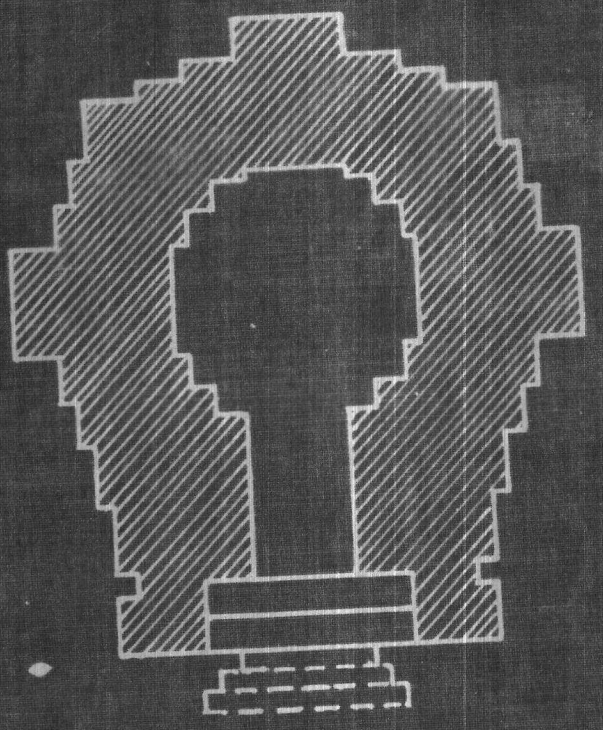
# PLAN OF SIVA TEMPLE AT JANJGIR

SCALE 1" INCH = 10' FEET



# PLAN OF LARGE VISHNU TEMPLE AT JANJGIR

SCALE 1" INCH = 10' FEET

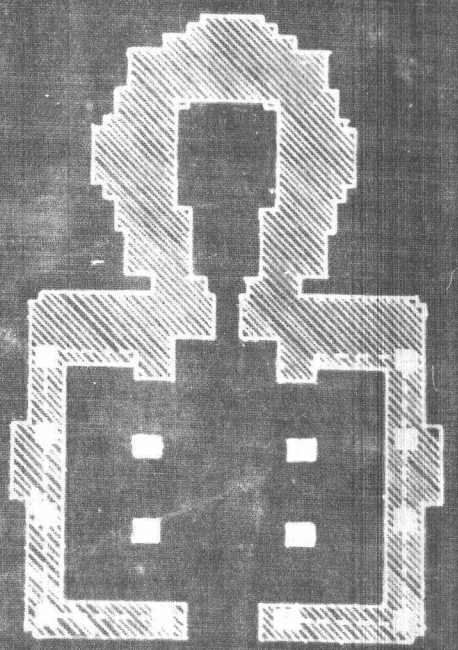


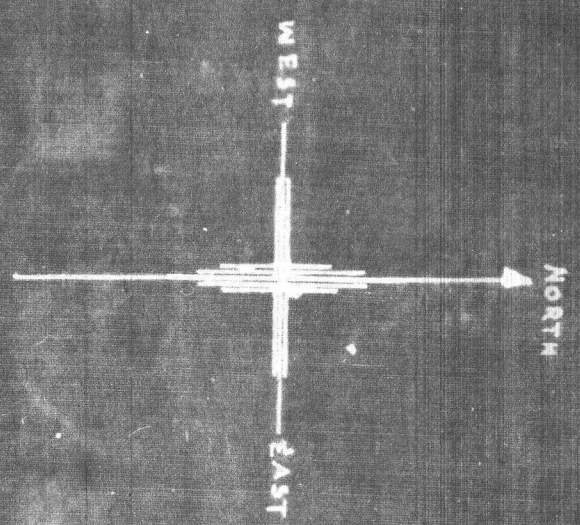
NORTH

DRAWN BY:- S. Pandey

# PLAN OF SIVA TEMPLE AT NĀRĀYAṆAPURA

SCALE 1" INCH = 10' FEET






DRAWN BY:- S. P. Pandey

## APPENDIX 'E'

## PHOTOGRAPHS

No.

1. Door-frame of Śiva Temple, Tumān.
2. Doorway lintel of Śiva Temple, Tumān.
3. Brahmā in lalitāsana, in the right niche of the doorway lintel, Tumān.
4. Vishṇu on Garuḍa, in the left niche of the doorway lintel, Tumān.
5. Yamunā, with a pitcher of water on the door-jamb, Tumān.
6. Gaṅgā, with a pitcher of water on the door-jamb, Tumān.
7. Dvārapāla or Bhairava on the side of Yamunā, Tumān.
8. Dvārapāla or Bhairava on the side of Gaṅgā, Tumān.
9. Southern View of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
10. Doorway along with two additional pillars in front of the garbha-gṛiha of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
11. Brahmā, near the doorway pillar of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
12. Liṅga-worshippers, inside the maṇḍapa of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
13. Liṅga-worshippers, inside the maṇḍapa of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
14. South face of the outer wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
15. South face of the outer wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
16. Kārttikêya, in the lower niche of the southern wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
17. Western face of the outer wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
18. Western face of the outer wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
19. Western View of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
20. Northern face of Śiva Temple, Pāli.
21. Chāmuṇḍā, in the lower niche of northern face of Śiva Temple, Pāli.

22. Sarasvatī, on the north wall of Śiva Temple, Pāli.

23. Gaṇa, carrying Śrīvatsa symbol on his head, western face of Śiva Temple, Pāli.

24. Carved doorway fixed into the fort-wall, Ratanpur.

25. Figure of Rāvaṇānugraha, to the left of the carved door-frame, Ratanpur.

26. Sculptures fixed into the fort-wall, Ratanpur.

27. Sculptures fixed into the bridge parapet, Ratanpur.

28. Sculptures fixed into the bridge parapet, Ratanpur.

29. Sculptures fixed into the bridge parapet, Ratanpur.

30. Sculpture of Sūrya, on the bridge parapet, Ratanpur.

31. Gaja-Śārdūla and woman standing, on the bridge parapet, Ratanpur.

32. Step-well, near the temple of Vṛiddheśvara Mahādeva, Ratanpur.

33. A View of the step-well, Ratanpur.

34. Front View of the unfinished Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

35. Back View of the unfinished Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

36. Doorway of the unfinished Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

37. Front View of the unfinished Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

38. Gaṅgā and two male-gods, on the doorway jambs, Jānjgir.

39. Yamunā and two male-gods , on the doorway jambs, Jānjgir.

40. Gandharva and Apsarā playing on '<u>dholaka</u>', Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

41. Southern face of Vishṇu Temple, depicting Narasiṁha and Vishṇu, Jānjgir.

42. Southern face of Vishṇu Temple, depicting Varāha and Vishṇu, Jānjgir.

43. Western face of Vishṇu Temple, depicting Vishṇu and Sūrya, Jānjgir.

44. Side panels on the southern face of Vishṇu Temple, depicting Apsarās, Śārdūlas and Devarshis, Jānjgir.

45. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting Rāma chasing Svarṇamṛiga, Rāvaṇa hiding and Lakshamaṇa preparing to follow Rāma, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

46. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting Sītāharaṇa, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

47. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting Rāma piercing seven palm trees with an arrow, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

48. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting Vāli-Sugrīva-Yuddha and Rāma shooting an arrow at Vāli from behind the trees, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

49. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting monkeys carrying stones to build Setu to Laṅkā, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

50. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting Rāma performing pūjā at Rāmeśvaram, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

51. Rāmāyaṇa scene, depicting monkeys fighting demons, Vishṇu Temple, Jānjgir.

52. Front View of Śiva Temple, Jānjgir.

53. Back View of Śiva Temple, Jānjgir.

54. Doorway of Śiva Temple, Jānjgir.

55. Doorway of Śiva Temple, Jānjgir.

56. Northern face of Śiva Temple, with two niches including the panels of Śiva, Jānjgir.

57. Western face of Śiva Temple, depicting Sūrya in two niches, Jānjgir.

58. Southern face of Śiva Temple, depicting Brahmā and Śiva in two niches, Jānjgir.

59. Southern face of Śiva Temple, depicting Kārttikêya and Gaṇeśa, near the doorway pillar, Jānjgir.

60. Śiva Temple with attached temple of Āditya, Nārāyanpur.

61. Back View of Śiva Temple, Nārāyanpur.

62. Front View of the temple of Āditya, with back view of Śiva Temple, Nārāyanpur.

63. Front View of the maṇḍapa , Śiva Temple, Nārāyanpur.

64. Image of Sūrya, fixed into the enclosure wall, near the eastern gate, Koṭgaḍh.

65. Worshipper with hands joined and holding lotus-flower for offering, Koṭgaḍh.

66. Site of the temple of Revanta, Koṭgaḍh.

67. Panel of Umā-Maheśvara in the temple of Śiva, Mallār.

68. Another image of Umā-Maheśvara in the temple of Śiva, Mallār.

69. Standing devotee with his female companions in the temple of Śiva, Mallār.

70. Gaṅgā and two male gods at the doorway of the temple of Keśavanārāyaṇa, Seorīnārāyan.

71. Inscribed image of warrior Saṁgrāmasiṁha, Seorīnārāyan.

72. Panel of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, Seorīnārāyan.

73. Panel of Umā-Maheśvara, on the northern wall of the sanctum, Lakhaneśvara Temple, Kharod.

74. Panel of a devotee with his wife, on the southern wall of the sanctum, Lakhaneśvara Temple, Kharod.

75. A niche containing Jain figures, in the north-east corner of the outer wall, inside courtyard, Lakhaneśvara Temple, Kharod.

76. Inscribed image of Paṇḍita Dāmodara, fixed into the outer wall, inside courtyard, Lakhaneśvara Temple, Kharod.

77. Panel of Umā-Maheśvara, from Patel's house, Gataurā.

78. Panel of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, from Patel's house, Gataurā.

79. Doorway lintel, depicting Śiva in the central niche, from Patel's house, Gataurā.

80. Panel of a female devotee, at the doorway of the temple of Śiva, Gataurā.

81. Panel of Chāmaradhāriṇī, at the doorway of the temple of Śiva, Gataurā.

82. Broken image of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara, Dhanpur.

83. Pieces of Jain sculptures, Dhanpur.

84. Panel of Umā-Maheśvara, from Ratanpur.

85. Panel of a worshipper with his female companions, from Ratanpur.

86. Inscribed image of Bhaṭṭa Vallāla and his wife, Tīlha, from Bilaspur.

87. Inscribed image of Nārāyaṇa, the son of Lekhanādhyaksha Paṇḍita Madhavāksha of Ratnapura, from Amarakaṇṭaka.

88. Panel of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara, from Ratanpur.

89. Panel of a Jain Tirthaṅkara, from Ratanpur.

90. Panel of Kalyāṇasundara Śiva, from Ratanpur.

91. Panel of Umā-Maheśvara, from Ratanpur.

92. Panel of Kārttikêya, from Gomri in Bilaspur District.

93. Image of Chāmaradhāriṇī, from Ratanpur.

94. Inscribed image of Vishṇu, from Ratanpur.

95. Panel of Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha, from Ratanpur.

96. Panel of Tīrthaṅkara Chandraprabha, from Ratanpur.

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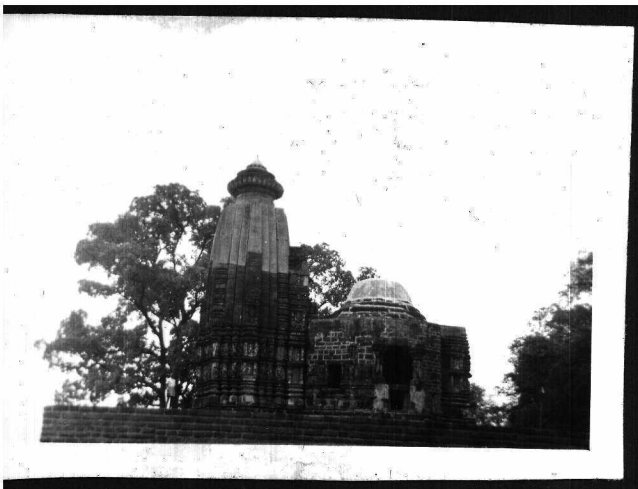

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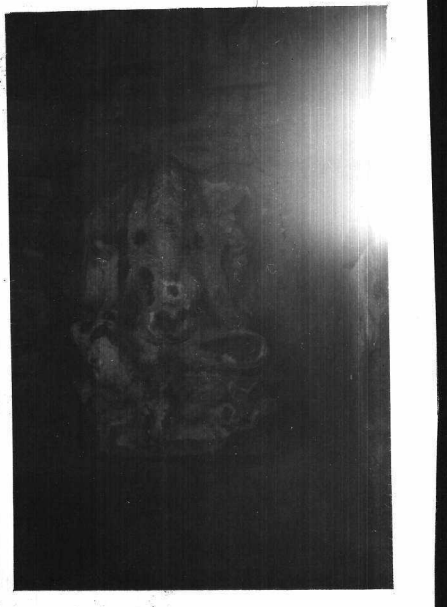

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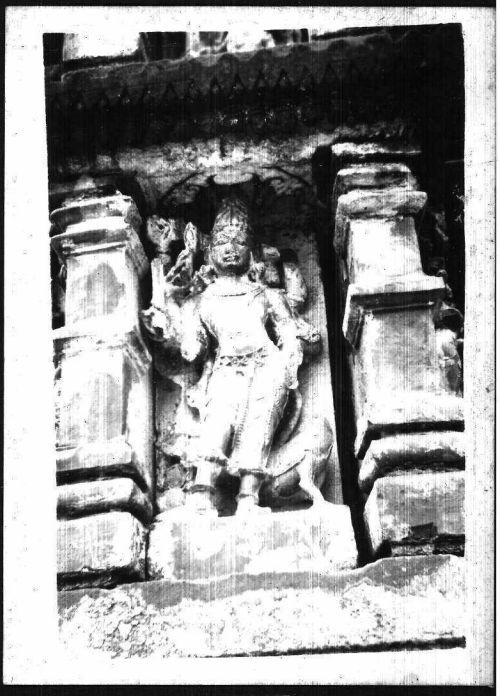

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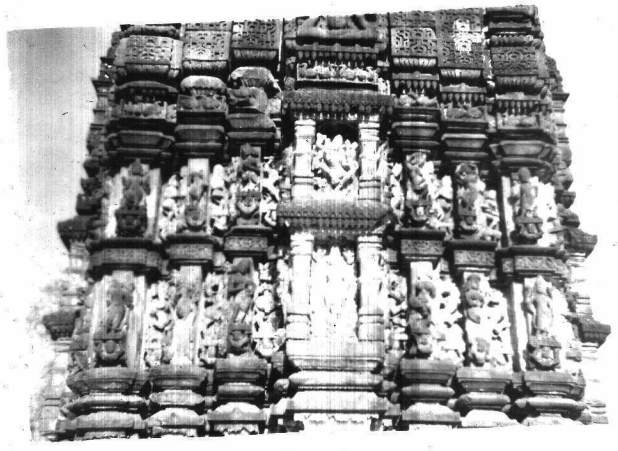

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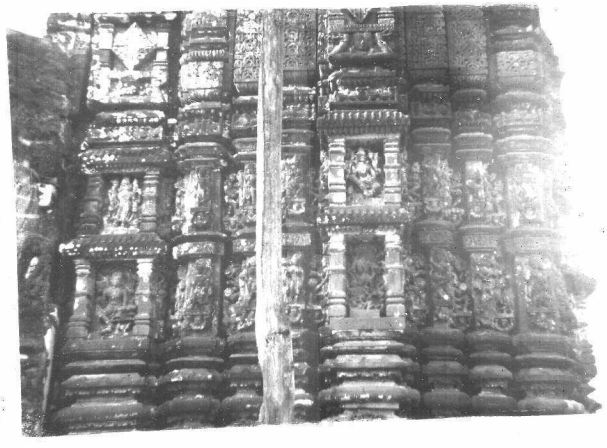

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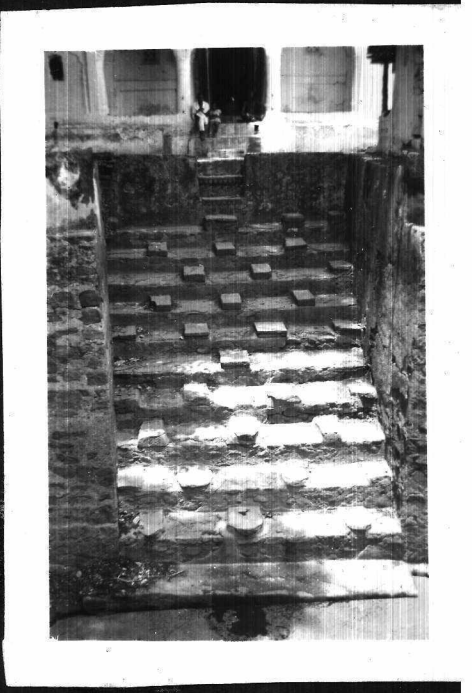

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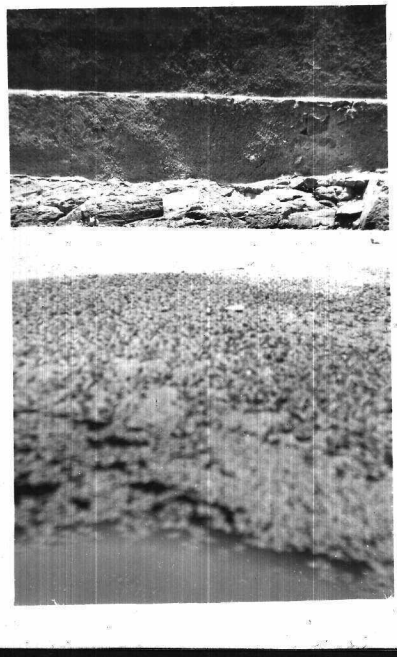

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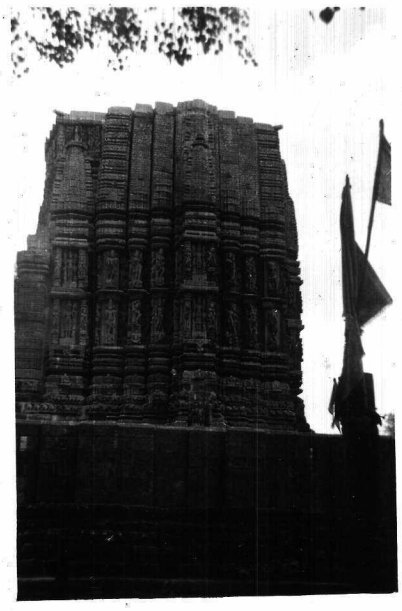

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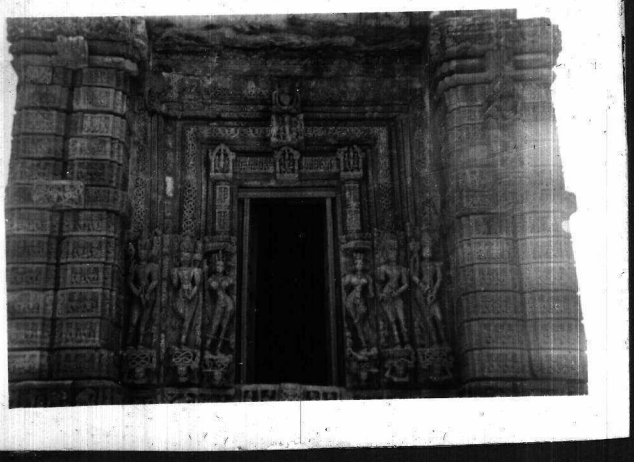

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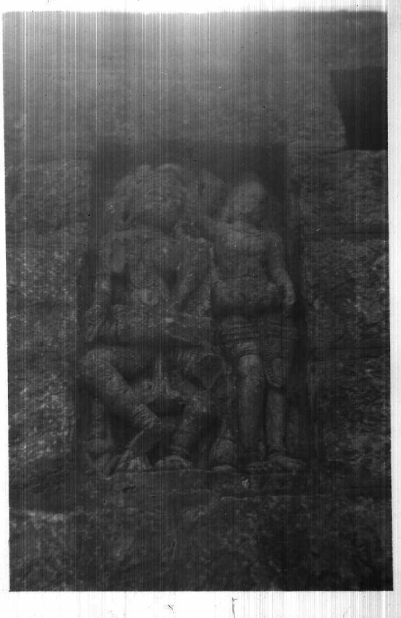

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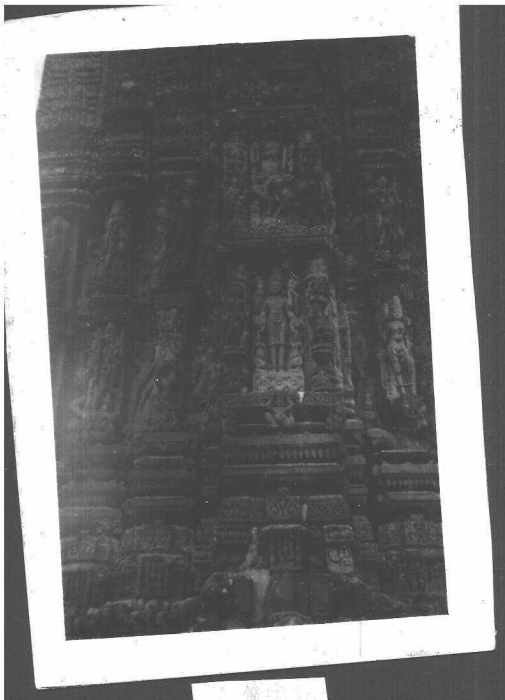

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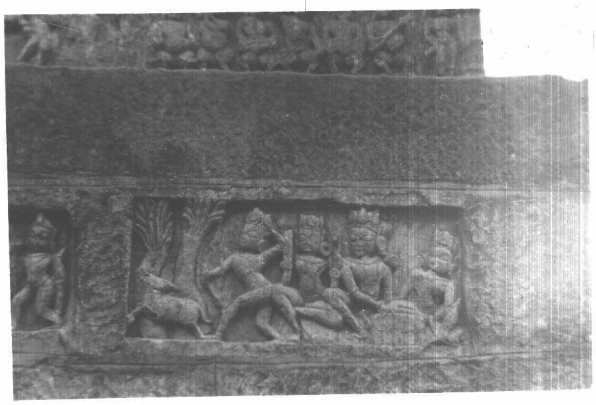

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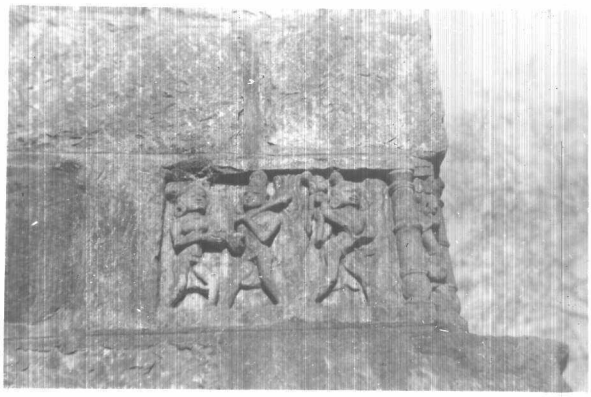

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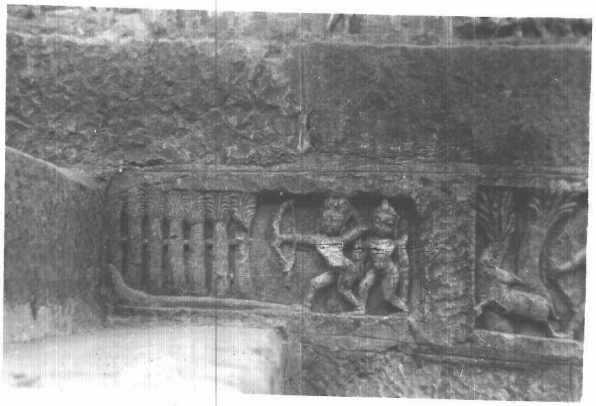

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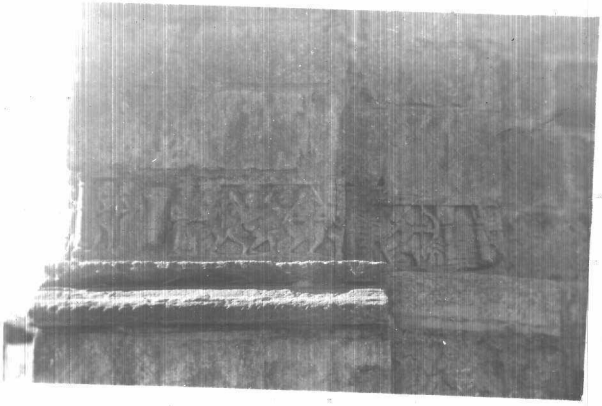

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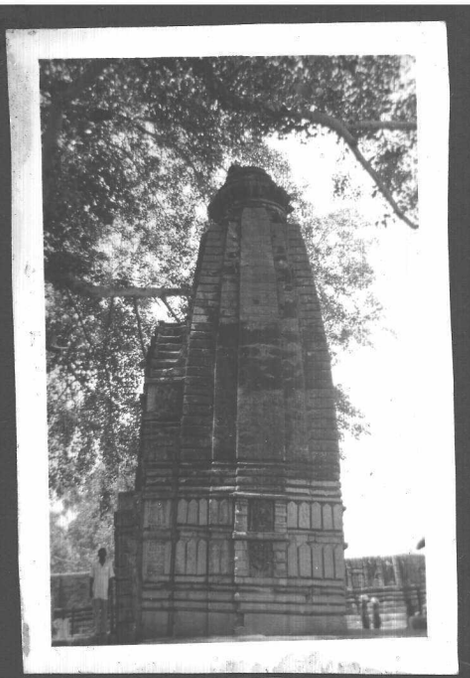

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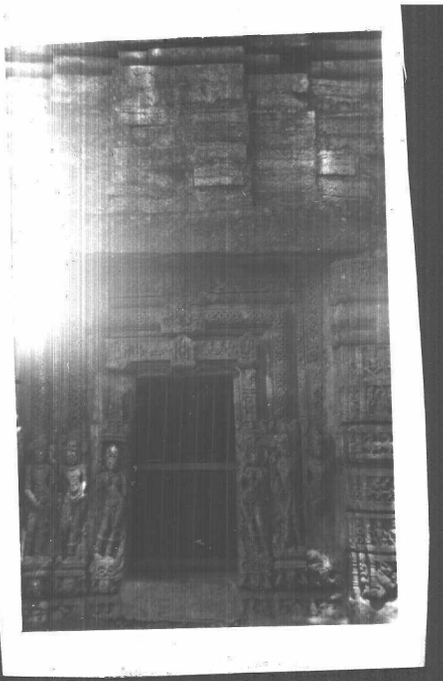

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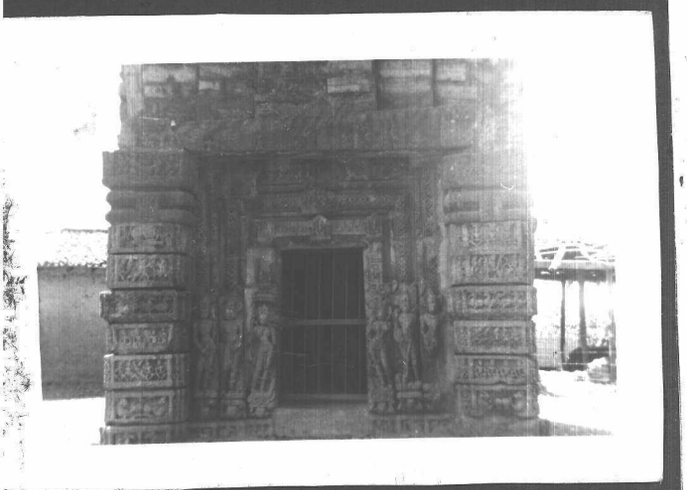

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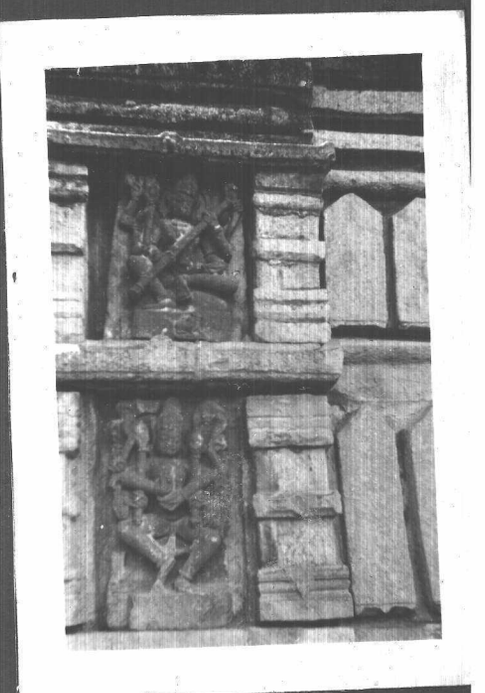

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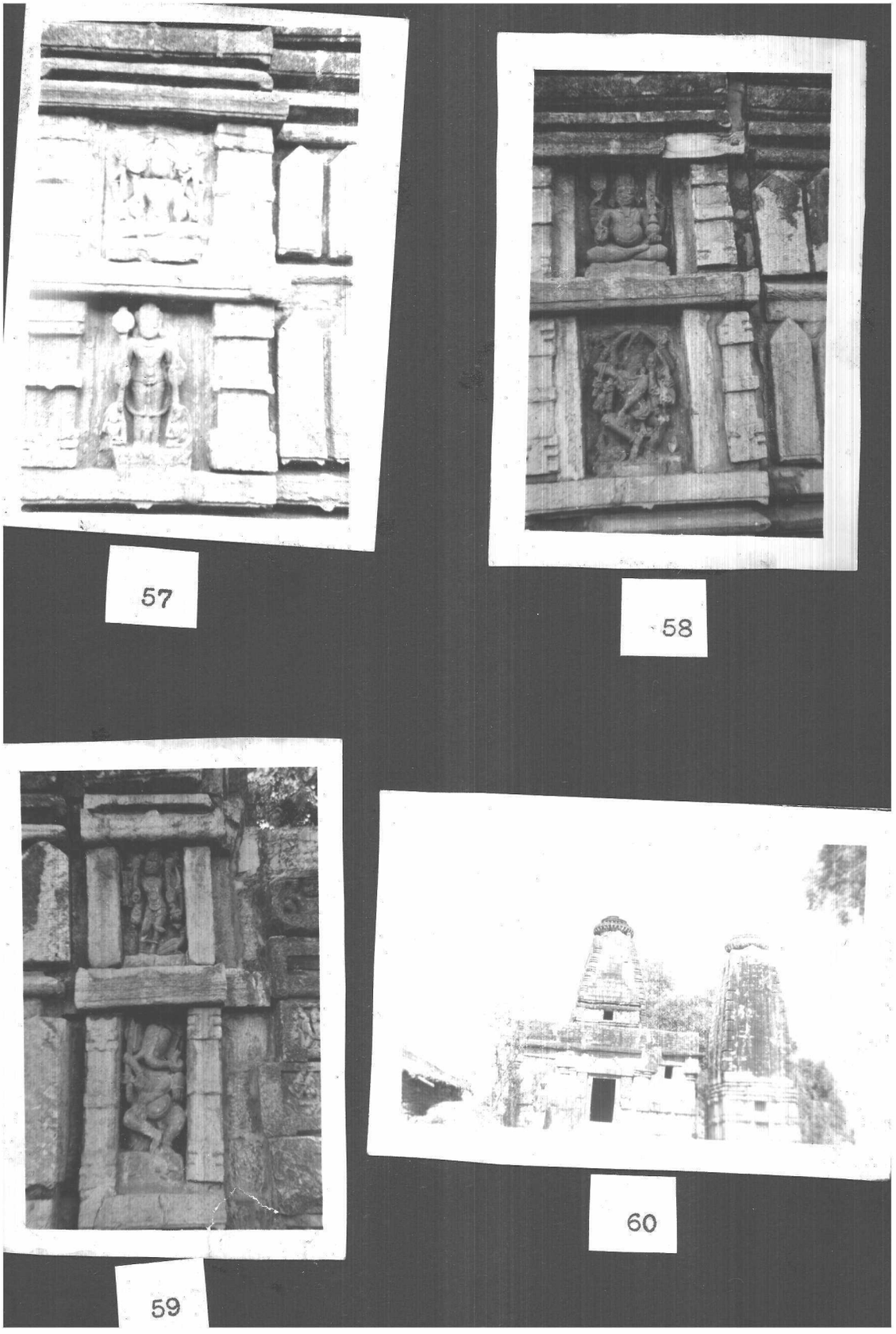

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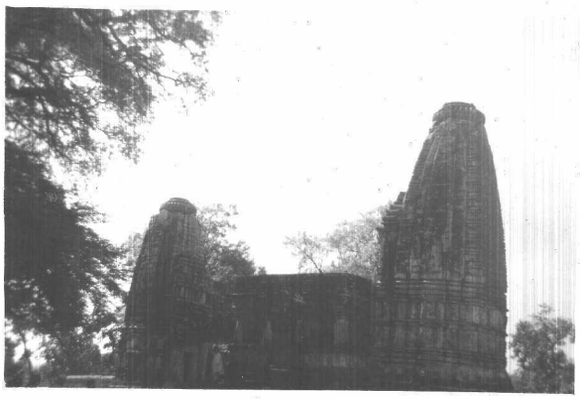

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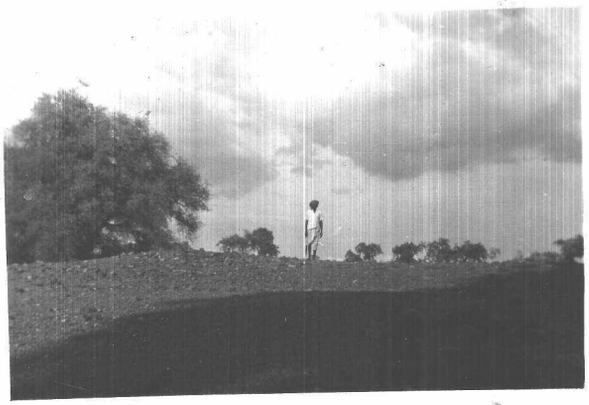

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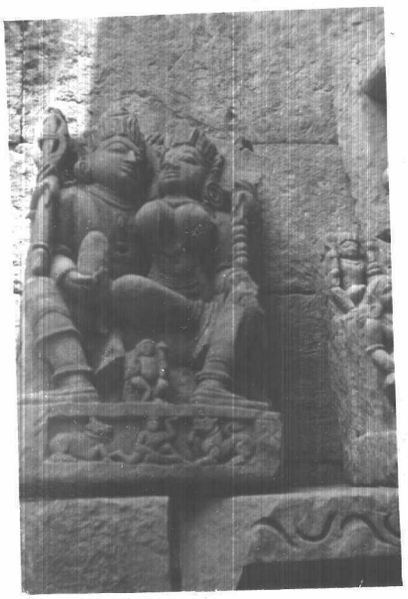

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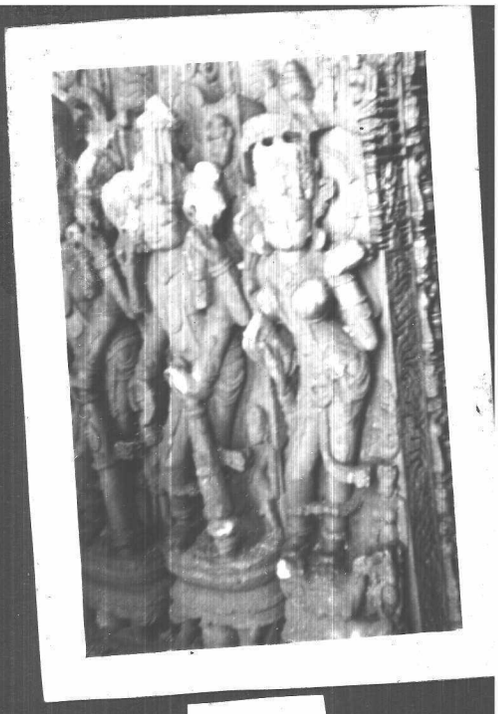

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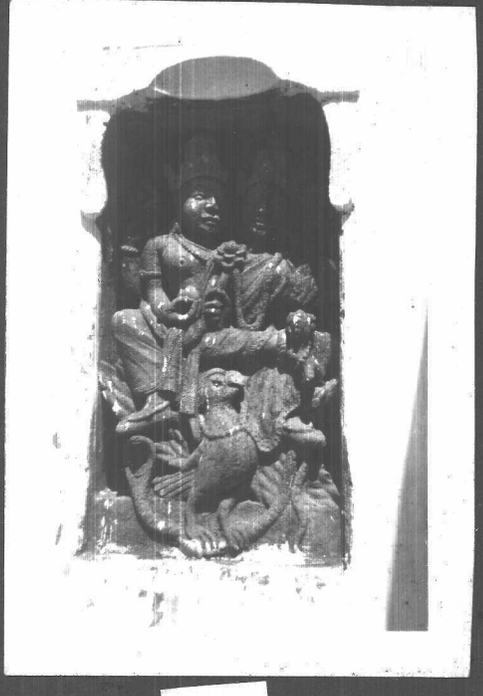

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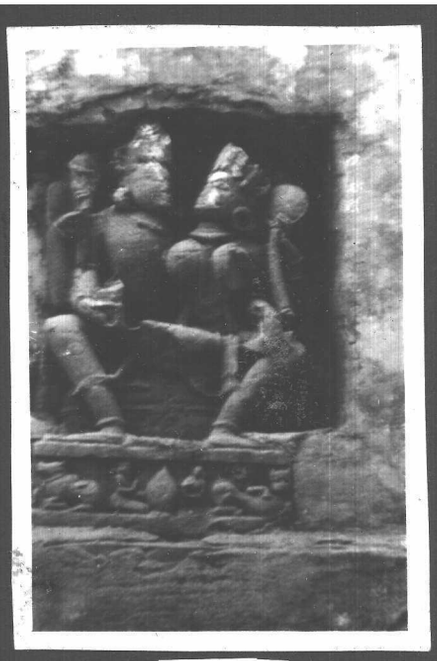

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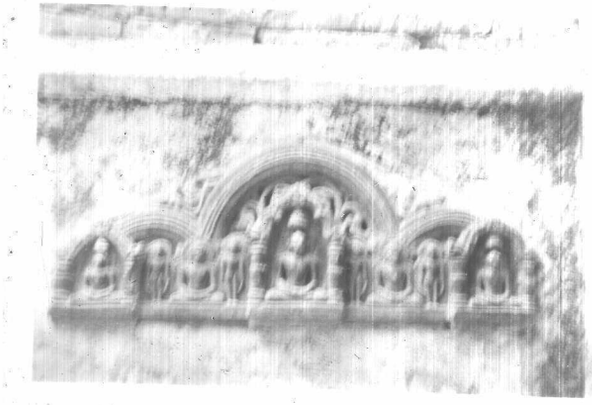

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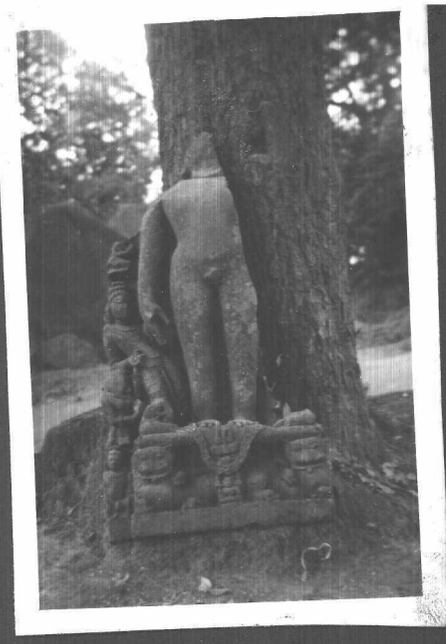

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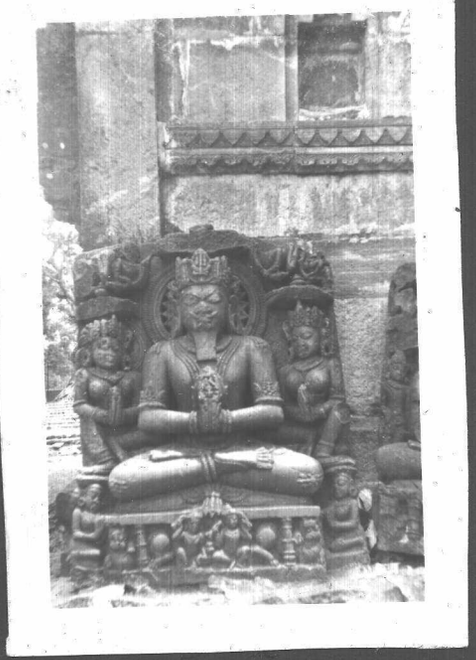

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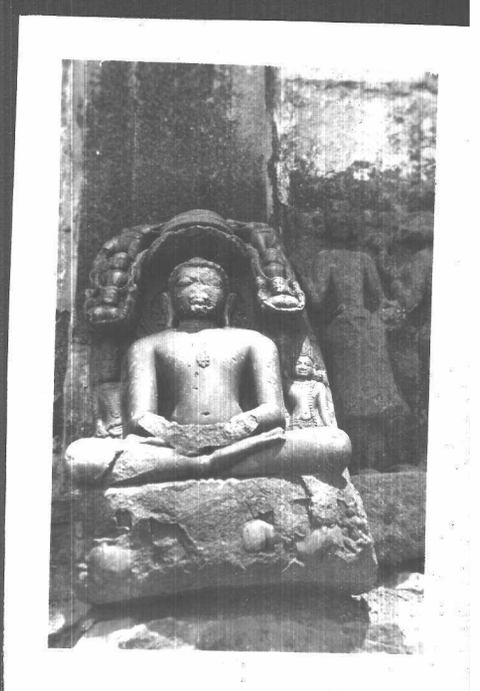

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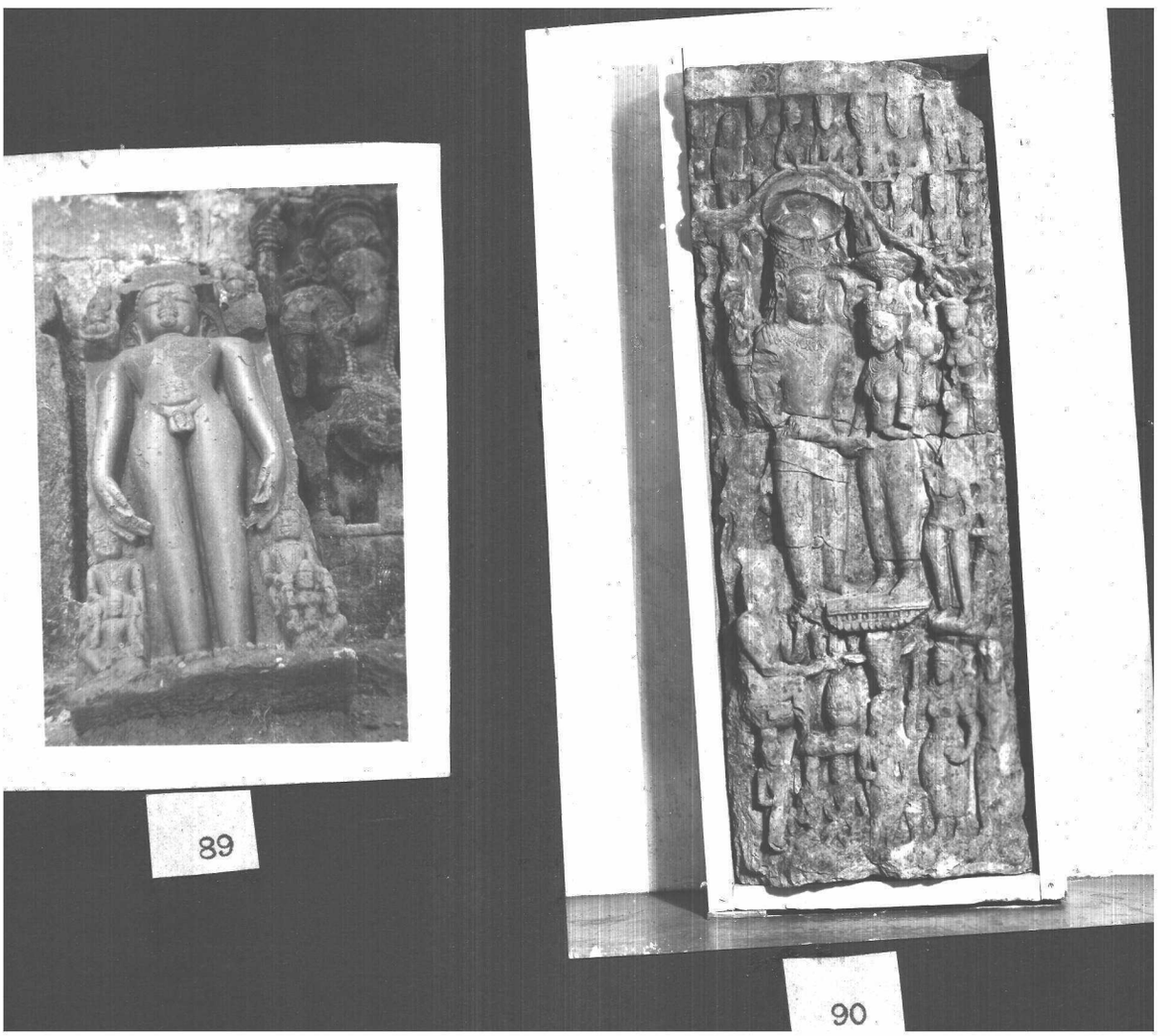
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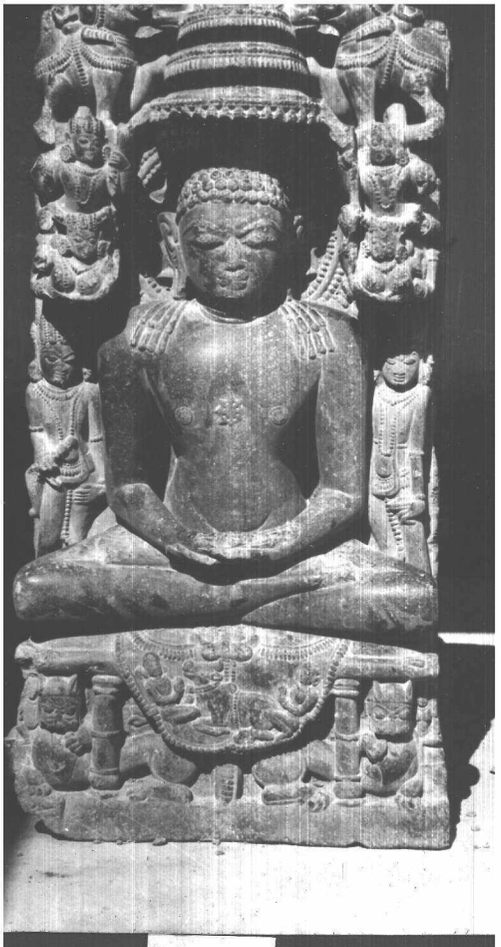

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